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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NORTHERN INDIANA: 1830-1857 *

This paper is concerned chiefly with only the beginnings of the organized Church in northern Indiana from 1830 to the erection of the Diocese of Fort Wayne in 1857. It does not treat of the usual catalogue of first churches and first priests, often found in essays of a similar nature. The "time-table" method as such, although contributory, is very unsatisfactory. In this presentation an attempt will be made to portray the background of events leading up to the organization of the Church in northern Indiana—the basic movements, as it were, which finally resulted in permanent ecclesiastical organization.

In the establishment of an empire in the western and southern parts of the present United States, the French used four principal routes to reach the Mississippi Valley. The extreme northern started at Green Bay, Wisconsin, (the Fox-Wisconsin waterway); the upper middle, at Chicago (the Chicago-Illinois waterway); the lower middle, at St. Joseph, Michigan (the St. Joseph-Kankakee waterway); and the southern, near the present sites of Toledo and Fort Wayne (the Maumee-Wabash waterway). The two latter routes ran largely through the present state of Indiana.

Undoubtedly, the several priests who accompanied the early French traders visited northern Indiana during the latter part of

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the seventeenth century. The missionary period, however, is not within the scope of this paper. It has been admirably treated by several historians in excellent articles and publications.[1]

When Indiana was admitted to statehood in 1816, the important drawbacks to immigration were lack of water transportation and absence of any suitable roads. The State was first settled by white men from the South. The reason is obvious. The southern limits bordered on the Ohio River and other tributaries leading into it. Hence, the people from Kentucky and Tennessee could move into the new State without difficulty. Aside from this, immigration was practically negligible. It was impossible, so to speak, because the river-boat was the only means of transportation. It is true that in certain districts small flatboats were also used as a means of conveyance, because roads as such were poor and inaccessible for any great distance.

Before 1816, and after, the Indians were gradually pushed north until they practically inhabited the upper two-thirds of the State, with the exception of the descendants of the early French fur traders. Southern Indiana was opened to white settlers much against the wishes of the majority of the Indians, who were driven farther and farther north. Tecumseh could truly say to Governor Harrison: "You are continually driving the red people, when, at last, you will drive them into the great lake, where they can't either stand or work."[2]

[1] Interesting phases of the history of this period, particularly as they refer to the St. Joseph Mission near the present village of Bertrand, Michigan, and as they affect the beginnings of the Church in northern Indiana may be found in: Garraghan, G. J., *The Jesuits in the Middle United States*, I, 175 seq. (New York, 1938); Howard, T. E., *A History of St. Joseph County, Indiana*, II, 603 seq. (Chicago, 1907); Alerding, Rt. Rev. H. J., *A History of the Church in the Diocese of Vincennes*, 56 seq. (Indianapolis, 1883); McNamara, William, *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier*, 14 seq. (Washington, D. C., 1931). Pertinent articles relating to the period are: "The St. Joseph Mission Baptismal Register" by George Paré and M. Quaife, M.M. in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 13, 201-239; also in same review by Fr. Paré, "The Saint Joseph Mission," 17, 24-54; "Notre Dame, Antecedents and Development", by M. J. Walsh, C.S.C., in *Illinois Historical Review*, 4, 270-77.

[2] Dunn, Jacob P., *The Indian Stories* (Indianapolis, 1909), 78.

The Indians and fur-traders were inseparably united. In the St. Joseph River Valley, Antoine LeClerc controlled the fur trade until 1781. In 1792, Burnett became the trader and extended his business to Chicago. Joseph Bertrand, after whom the present town of Bertrand (Michigan) is named, had a fur establishment in southwestern Michigan. On the St. Joseph River, Alexis Coquillard was engaged in a similar trade, and Peter LaFontaine and Jean Beaubien were in Fort Wayne, while Jean Jutrace was doing business in Plymouth. In 1832, Francis Comperet and Alexis Coquillard, who were in partnership in Fort Wayne, separated, Coquillard going to South Bend on the St. Joseph-Kankakee Portage, and Comperet remaining in Fort Wayne on the Maumee-Wabash Portage. At that time, Fort Wayne was a very important post. It had been built as an army fort on the Indian frontier, but had been abandoned by the War Department in 1819. Two years later it was regarded primarily as an Indian agency and the inhabitants were mostly French Canadian. In most of the territory north of the Wabash River roamed the Potawatomi and Miami Indians. A great number of these, as well as the fur-traders, were Catholics, but they had been for a long time without a shepherd.

In 1826, Father Champomier, pastor of Vincennes, whose parochial limits were singularly co-extensive with the State proper, visited the northern part *en route* to Canada. In a letter written on January 17, 1827, he states:

> I left my congregation without a priest to replace me; I left for Canada and crossed the wild country of Indiana where I met a great number of Catholic Indians. I promised to do all I could to obtain for them the helps of religion. I went by way of Detroit and stopped eight days with M. Richard.[3]

Prior to 1830 as indicated above, this section of the State was practically inaccessible. But once the Indians were removed and the canals and roads opened, the missionary work of the Church proceeded along these means of communication. Or, more clearly, these means of communication created and localized the churches.

The great tide of immigration to northern Indiana began in 1830 and lasted till about 1850. The Maumee-Wabash-Erie Canal, re-

[3] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, III, 230.

cently opened, cut through the State diagonally from the northeast to the southwest, and immigrants entered along its southern border, where Fort Wayne and Huntington are now located; while over the Michigan Road (running from Indianapolis to South Bend to Michigan City) came immigrants from Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina, to settle in the extreme northwestern part of the state. (There was also a scattering from southern Ohio and Pennsylvania). And to what is known as the present Indiana-Michigan boundary, settlers came from New England, northern Ohio and New York over the old Chicago road which ran from that city to Detroit. To this group should be added the omnipresent Irish and Germans. Also interspersed were a number of immigrants from Sweden, Norway and Holland.

Hence, by means of these two almost parallel means of communication (the Canal and the Detroit-Chicago Road) running from east to west, and due to the road running north and south (the Michigan Road) connecting these two arteries of travel, northern Indiana was built. Consequently, this section had a complex and varied population. For a further appreciation of the growth of population in northern Indiana about 1850, it might be said that the northeast tide of immigration met the southern and central tides; while throughout the entire area there was a scattering of foreigners, mostly Irish and German.

The suppliant plea of Chief Pokagon and his warriors to Father Gabriel Richard in Detroit finally brought Father Stephen Theodore Badin to northern Indiana in 1830, as the first resident priest.[4] Although old at the time and suffering from infirmities caused by many years of faithful work in the Kentucky missions, Badin set about to evangelize this section with renewed fervor and zeal. His baptismal register shows the names of the Indians and French who had settled around the fur trading posts.[5] A few of the French

[4] *Annales*, IV, 546 seq. Fr. Badin at first resided at the St. Joseph Mission near the village of Bertrand, Mich. Later he moved his headquarters to the mission of St. Mary-of-the Lake, the present site of the University of Notre Dame.

[5] Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, Ind., dossier "Northern Indiana". (Further reference to these archives in this article will be designated by NDA).

names will suffice: Joseph and Madeleine Bertrand, Amable Baurassa, David Baurassa, Terese Bertrand, Laurent Bertrand, Angelique Champeaux, Alexis Coquillard, Marie Prejean. From his mission site, where the University of Notre Dame is now located, we have definite records of several visits Father Badin made to Fort Wayne, Huntington, Peru, Logansport and other settlements in the Wabash Valley. In 1831, he said Mass and preached in the house of Francis Comperet. In the following year, he repeated his ministrations in the house of Jean Bequette. From historical records in our possession, therefore, it is clear that in 1830 the greater part of northern Indiana was inhabited by the French and Indians.

Water transportation was to become the principal means of communication in northern Indiana. There were three possible routes by water through this section: first, the shore of Lake Michigan, touching the extreme northwest end of the State, served as an early route over which the French and Indians passed; second, the St. Joseph-Kankakee Portage which ran through the center of northern Indiana and which permitted the travelers to pass down the river to the present city of South Bend, and thence by short portage to the headwaters of the Kankakee, which runs into the Illinois, and thence into the Mississippi. And the third water route, which constitutes, as it were, the southern boundary of northern Indiana, was the Maumee-Wabash Portage. It ran from Lake Erie down the Maumee River to the old portage located at the present city of Fort Wayne, thence down the Wabash into the Ohio. All these routes had been used by the Indians, but apparently the best was the Maumee-Wabash. This was true of primitive times and also for the early period of Indiana history. However, to meet the demands of the slowly developing State, an all-water route from Lake Erie to the Ohio River made a canal at Fort Wayne necessary.

Congress, by an act of March, 1827, gave a generous grant of land to Indiana for the building of the Wabash-Erie Canal. In January of the following year, the state legislature accepted the gift and the canal was assured. The sale of public lands began at Logansport and Lafayette, and the work proper commenced in

1832. Two years later, in July, the first section from Fort Wayne to Huntington was in operation. Three years later, it was extended to Peru, in 1838 to Logansport, and in 1840 to Lafayette. Meanwhile an agreement had been reached with the authorities of the State of Ohio, and in 1843 that section of the canal was completed, opening up traffic from Lake Erie to the Ohio River.

The building of this waterway emphasized the need of priests to care for the workers *en route,* because most of those employed in the construction of the canal were Germans and Irish, the latter predominating. If we can believe the observations of some of the pioneers, as found in certain historical records, the Irish were somewhat of a local problem. The advocates of the Temperance Movement, decidedly in vogue at that period, were frightfully shocked by the capacity of the Irish for drink. Whiskey dens dotted the canal, and, as a result, the workers spent most of their hard-earned salary unwisely. Perhaps the Irish were a trifle turbulent; perhaps the Irish sense of physical fitness and excitement did not reach the high standards of their more sedate neighbors. This is a question. Certainly numerous fights occurred between the Irish from the north and those from the south of the Emerald Isle. "On one occasion, four-hundred militia were required to stop an impending battle near Lagro, in which four-hundred Corkers had armed themselves and were moving up the line to clear out their enemies."[6] We may note the similarity of this to a statement contained in a letter written by Father Badin to Bishop Purcell, September 22, 1834, which was of a strictly personal nature:

> I will now expatiate on the character of our Catholics. It is known that the lower class of Irish, such as work on the Canal, are fond of drinking. . . . The Germans are of a much better disposition, as also the French from Lorraine and Alsace, but a priest familiar with the Dutch language is indeed wanted.[7]

Undoubtedly, there was a concerted plot to stigmatize these Irish laborers. A French missionary who attended the workers on the Michigan Southern Railroad a few years later, mentions liquor

[6] Esray, Logan, *A History of Indiana* (Dayton, 1923), 407.

[7] NDA (Badin letters).

and the fighting ability of the Irish, especially the "Mighty Nine" who could thrash any section gang from Detroit west. But this same missionary was deeply moved by the purity, generosity and deep faith of these stalwart knights of the shovel. A few years later, many of these Michigan Southern Railroad workers settled in northern Indiana.

In 1834, there were approximately one thousand men working on the canal, and these had to receive spiritual ministration.[8] This was a difficult task, to say the least. There were only four priests in the State of Indiana to care for the Catholics, and, naturally, the duty of ministering to the canal workers presented added problems. Father Badin occasionally visited the Catholics along the canal. In writing to Bishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, from South Bend, May 10, 1834, he states:

> I must go soon to Fort Wayne, thence visit the Forks of the Wabash where many Irish and German Catholics have been expecting me, who are employed in digging a canal, and are desirous of building a chapel. Thence I should go to Logansport, eighty or ninety miles west of Fort Wayne. I am busily engaged in making a new establishment near this place for an orphan house, and I must begin with erecting a chapel.[9]

After praising the Indians, Father Badin in another letter, perceives the growth of the Catholic Church in this area:

> Town lots have been procured in five or six different places, viz., South Bend (one and a half mile from my establishment on St. Joseph River), Fort Wayne, Huntington, Wabash, and two acres in the town of Peru, and I prevailed on him (agent) to make this offer to Bishop Flaget; but as he did not answer the polite letter and lots have become very valuable at Peru, there will perhaps be a demur. I caused the lot of Huntington to be deeded to Bishop Flaget—but the donor of eleven acres in Wabash, being a friend of mine, preferred to give me his obligation for the same and I did not insist otherwise from motives of politeness and prudence.[10]

[8] McNamara, William, *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier* (Washington, 1931), 60.

[9] NDA (Badin letters).

[10] NDA (Badin letters).

It is interesting to note that the growth of the Catholic Church along the canal corresponds more or less exactly with its progress. In other words, churches were built to take care of the Catholic laborers, many of whom remained after the work was finished. By 1843, another all-water-way was completed from Lake Erie to the Ohio River and new settlers entered the Wabash Valley and contributed greatly to the growth of the faith in this section where some churches had already been established.

In the extreme northern counties of the State, the building of the Michigan Road, which was to run from Indianapolis (where it connected with the old National Road) north to South Bend, thence west to Michigan City, was of great importance to the beginnings of the organized Church in this section. This new road would connect the Wabash Valley with Lake Michigan and was to be a well-traveled one. Contracts were let for the building of the road in 1832, and immediately land sales began, so that this section of Indiana which did not have a white settler (immigrant) prior to 1829, developed very rapidly.[11] The new road, therefore, was largely responsible for the growth of the Church in this locality. By 1831, La Porte County had one hundred families, and from that year to 1850, the cross currents of immigration finally reached this section. Father Petit, who was the second successor to Father Badin at the mission of Saint Mary-of-the-Lake, in his baptismal register for the year 1838, mentions certain newcomers for the first time.[12] Heretofore, his record had contained only Indian and French names. In 1838, he mentions Mr. Philip Molegan (Mulligan) and Mary Riley. From this date, as indicated in his baptismal register, it is clear that his parish, which was practically northern Indiana, consisted of French, Irish and German families.

The official census of 1850 for the United States gives the total population of Indiana as a little short of two millions. Of this number, less than one-half were born in the State. There were

[11] There is an excellent description of the Michigan Road in the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, III (No. 2), 47 seq. Also in the files of the *St. Joseph Beacon* (South Bend, Ind.), issues of March 28, May 23, and June 6, 1832.

[12] NDA (Fr. Petit letters).

approximately 10,000 New Englanders living in Indiana, and over 120,000 settlers who had been born in Ohio. The foreign element was large, comprising approximately 300,000 Germans, and 200,000 from the British Isles. The presence of these races, the Irish and the Germans, shows decisively the growth of the Church in the northern part of the State of Indiana. For example, St. John's, the Catholic parish in Lake County, was almost totally German, with about 490 in the parish. Michigan City, formerly known as Bailey Town after Joe Bailey, an early French trader, consisted mostly of Irish. The city itself had a population of 600. Lottaville (Turkey Creek) composed of immigrants from Bavaria and Hesse-Cassel was another German settlement. The German element frequently took up farming, but the Irish in the northern part of the State as a rule engaged in railroad pursuits.

So that this presentation of the beginnings of the organized Church in northern Indiana may be complete, it should be mentioned that Gregory XVI created the Diocese of Vincennes on May 6, 1834, and appointed the Rev. Simon W. Gabriel Bruté de Remur as first Bishop.[13] The limits of the diocese included the State of Indiana and one-third of the eastern section of Illinois, in which the trading post of Chicago was the important mission.[14] Bishop Bruté ruled the diocese zealously and capably, spending most of his time in visiting the numerous missions scattered throughout. He gives an excellent account of his first official visit in a letter to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, a copy of which may be found in the *Berichte* of that organization. The first few sentences of the letter are interesting with regard to the city of Chicago:

> I went North in Illinois as far as Chicago on Lake Michigan. Rev. St. Cyr had arrived there from St. Louis and enabled the Catholics to make their Easter Communion, so I gave only a few Confirmations. Chicago, is now composed of about 400 souls, French, Canadians, Americans, Irish, and a good number of Germans.[15]

[13] Godecker, Sr. Mary Salesia, *Life of Simon Bruté de Rémur* (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931), 198.

[14] NDA. In Bishop Bruté's notes is a holograph map of the diocese.

[15] Cited by Alerding, Rt. Rev. H. J., *The Diocese of Fort Wayne* (Fort

After a very capable administration of about three years, Bishop Bruté caught cold while riding on the outside of the stagecoach on his way to the Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1837. Consumption developed and after an extended illness, he died at Vincennes on June 22, 1839.[16] He was succeeded by Bishop de Hailandière who administered the diocese until 1847, when he resigned and retired to his native Brittany. His immediate successors were Bishops John Stephen Bazin and Maurice de St. Palais.

With the growth and development of the Church in northern Indiana, the Holy See was petitioned to erect a diocese in the northern part of the state, and accordingly, on September 21, 1857, the Diocese of Fort Wayne was established. It included the northern part of Indiana to the southern boundary of Warren, Fountain, Montgomery, Boone, Hamilton, Madison, Delaware and Randolph counties, a territory of 17,431 square miles, numbering 20,000 Catholics, with 14 priests and 20 churches. The Right Reverend John Henry Luers was consecrated first bishop in Cincinnati, Ohio, on January 10, 1858.[17]

From this presentation, certain definite conclusions follow: the beginnings of the organized Church in northern Indiana were practically co-terminous with the development of the water-way system; such beginnings were supplemented by the establishment of the Michigan Road from Indianapolis to South Bend to Chicago; and by the old Chicago Road from that city to Detroit, because a large number of those employed on the road finally settled in the counties bordering on the Indiana-Michigan line; for a still further appreciation of the history of the Church in this section of the state, the student will inevitably direct his research to the beginnings of certain railroad systems: namely, the Wabash Railroad which practically follows the old Wabash-Maumee-Erie Canal; the Monon Railroad from Indianapolis to Michigan City; the Pennsylvania Railroad from Terre Haute to South Bend; the Big Four from Indianapolis to Chicago; the old Lake Shore and Michigan

Wayne, 1907), 24; cf. Godecker, *op. cit.*, 296 seq., for further appreciation of extent of the diocese; number of missions and priests, etc.

[16] Godecker, *op. cit.*, 306, 394.

[17] Alerding, *op. cit.*, 30.

Southern Railroad, now part of the New York Central System, from Chicago to New York; the Michigan Central from Detroit to Chicago which parallels more or less the old Chicago Road and which had such a marked influence on the growth of the Church in southern Michigan and northern Indiana.

A contemporary writer gives a vivid account of the arrival of the first train in South Bend on the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railroad, on October 4, 1851.[18] The train arrived at nine o'clock in the evening and was greeted by "innumerable brilliant bon-fires" and a salvo of "48 rounds of cannon." Its departure for the east, the next day, was honored by "17 rounds of cannon,"—singularly the historian escaped.

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[18] *St. Joseph Valley Register*, October, 1851, South Bend, Indiana.

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MISSIONARY PROBLEMS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: A STUDY IN MISSIONARY PREPARATION *

The thirteenth century represents a high standard in mediaeval Catholicism and not less in missionary endeavor. Missionary work in Europe practically ended with the conversion of the Baltic lands: of Prussia, Livonia, Esthonia, and Lithuania. During the Crusades attention was focussed more and more intensely upon other countries: the Jewish and Mohammedan lands and after the Mongol invasion into Eastern Germany upon the unknown people of the lands beyond the Near East.[1] In this need of new missionary activity, the new religious Orders established by St. Francis and St. Dominic showed in their organization and in their work new characteristics: they approached the mission work with such freshness of mind as to revive and clarify missionary ideas and problems and to make a new start in missionary experience.[2]

In the early Middle Ages, the rules laid down by Pope Gregory I were broad and in the proper spirit of accommodation to the individuality of the people to be converted. In contrast to this, the missionaries of the later centuries did not feel the urgent need of studying and considering in that same spirit of broadmindedness the psychology of the pagan people. Brought definitely into submission by military expeditions the people had to accept the Christian religion and it took a very long time before the new conditions had been assimilated; missionaries neglected to give natural strength to Christianity by implanting it into the life and

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[1] Lemmens, *Die Heidenmissionen des Spätmittelalters* (Münster, 1919), 1.

[2] Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts. Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner- und Heidenmission des Mittelalters* (Habelschwerdt, 1924), 2.

thought of the people. To be incorporated by baptism into the organization of the Church was the essential matter; the interior process of christianization was a more negligible matter. Similar ideas of enforcing Christianity we find also expressed in the papal letters to the Moslem princes and rulers of Tartary who were threatened with political measures if they would not accept the papal invitation.[3] It is without doubt that through the efforts of the Franciscans and the Dominicans a revision and revival of the missionary concept and its practical application were brought about.

With St. Dominic and St. Francis a new missionary period begins. In St. Dominic, the missionary idea had been the starting point of his vocation and his first ambition had been to evangelize either the Cumans or the Prussians.[4] St. Francis gave an heroic example by sailing to Egypt to attempt the evangelization of the Moslem.[5] This missionary intention of both founders was magnificent and challenging. Not only have both left to their sons inspiring zeal and enthusiasm for the missions, but both also have, in contrast to the contemporary methods of force, initiated the spiritual conquest of the world without the support of arms and soldiers, as the apostles had preached the word of God.

In consequence of this principle, the method of approach had to be revised. The missionaries of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders realized that better to approach those distant souls they must possess linguistic and apologetical knowledge. Concerning the learning of foreign languages we find some statements worthy of notice by Humbert de Romans, the fifth Master General of the Dominicans (1254-63). In his treatise of reform for the Council of Lyons (1274), his *Opus tripartitum*, he writes:

[3] Thauren, *Die Akkommodation im katholischen Heidenapostolat* (Münster, 1927), 128.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug., I, 635 n. 13; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, IV, 403 sq.; Perlbach, *Preussische Regesten* (Königsberg, 1876), n. 18.

[5] In his rule, the "prima regula", is found the expression of his missionary ideal as the heroic imitation of Christ. Cf. Dominicus de Gubernatis, *Orbis Seraphicus*, V (Rome, 1698); van der Vat, *Die Anfänge der Franziskanermissionen und ihre Weiterentwickelung im nahen Orient und in den mohammedanischen Ländern während des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Werl, 1934), 1, 39.

> God does not, as in the earliest days of the church, grant the gift of languages for preaching the gospel among foreign people, but this knowledge has to be acquired by hard and most diligent study. The legates, sent by Rome to the Orient, need the help of interpreters, but no one can say whether they know the language (Greek) well, and, if they do, it remains doubtful if they are conscientious in translating.[6]

The famous Franciscan, Roger Bacon († 1290) was an enthusiastic champion of historic and philological studies. He pleads in his books, *Opus Maius, Opus Minus, Opus Tertium,* with fiery argumentation, the need of language study and although his accusations are not always justified, yet in his critiques true interest and enthusiasm for the cause is shown. "There is," he remarks, "practically no mission among the Jews, because no one is able to read the Old Testament in Hebrew and therefore no proper explanation of the text can be offered. Furthermore, in behalf of the Greeks, Russians, Chaldeans, Armenians and Syrians efforts should be made to explain the Catholic Faith to them in their own language. The same holds good for the Mohammedans, the Prussians and Tartars and for all unbaptized nations of the world." Then he adds: "Repeatedly I have heard from reliable information, that missionaries who understand to some extent the language of the people, or at least do not depend much on interpreters, are most successful. Comparing the vast multitude of pagans with the small number of Christians, one realizes the great missionary task, and therefore to disregard the study of languages is sinful neglect of the important duty of preaching to the pagans."[7]

These linguistic requirements for the missionary were emphasized somewhat later by Ricoldus da Monte Croce († 1320), the famous Dominican missionary in Mesopotamia. In his unpublished work: *Dicta super Mahometi errore valde utilia,* he evaluates five principles of missionary practice and mentions that before his arrival

[6] Altaner, "Sprachstudien und Sprachkenntnisse im Dienste der Mission des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts", in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft,* 21 (1931), 115. (Cited as *ZM.*)

[7] *Opus Maius,* ed. J. H. Bridges (London, 1900), tr. by R. B. Burke (Philadelphia, 1928), 110-115. Roger Bacon went immediately from Oxford to Paris, when he heard of the return of his confrère in the Order, William of Rubruk, from Central Asia, in order to obtain direct information. Cf., Batton, *Wilhelm von Rubruk* (Münster, 1921), 27.

in the Orient he had no real idea of the mental and spiritual requirements for the missionary. Beginning his work he was like a new inexperienced physician, who learns by the practice of his art. We are here interested only in his first rule of methods. He says:

> The missionary should not be content to explain the Catholic faith in sermons or disputations with the help of an interpreter; he must speak the native language himself. The interpreters, as a rule, are familiar with the expressions necessary for commerce and trade, but they lack considerably the ability to state the truths of the Catholic faith properly. Of all mistakes the worst one is this, that the interpreters have not the courage to admit their insufficiency.[8]

For this reason he acquired for himself a good workable practice of the Arabic language and an intimate knowledge of how to proceed in disputations.

Taking into consideration only the critical statements of these authors who mention defects rather than abuses, one might be inclined to assume that nothing was done by the missionary in practical linguistic studies, before going out to his appointed field of work. In fact, much was done; plans were proposed and carried out. As far as we are able to learn from available documents, we must attribute high praise to the Dominicans in caring for the linguistic preparation of their missionaries. The official acts of general and provincial chapters of the Order refer to many resolutions and decrees in that respect. But it is erroneous to say with Gregorovius that St. Dominic had sent his brethren to learn Arabic, Greek and Hebrew.[9]

The first official notice for fostering linguistic studies is to be found in the acts of the general chapter in the year 1236: namely, "in all provinces and houses, the brethren should learn the language of the neighboring people or tribe."[10] This regulation was given not in connection with the foreign missions, but the administration of the Order wanted, by the study of languages, to increase the activity of its members, because such an opportunity

[8] Mandonnet, *Revue Biblique* (1893), 44, 182, 584, 602; Altaner, "Die fremdsprachliche Ausbildung der Dominikanermissionäre während des 13. und 14 Jahrhunderts", *ZM*, 23 (1933), 234.

[9] Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, II (1889), 34.

[10] *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum historica*, III, 9 lin. 35.

to learn the languages from the neighbors in daily conversation was not to be neglected. A similar decree was issued by the general chapter in 1242. A definite, practical step in this matter was taken by the Provincial Philippus of Palestine-Syria (Dominican "terra sancta"), according to his report of 1237 to Pope Gregory IX. He writes: "As we see how wide the gate is open for the truth of the gospel, we began with great diligence the study of the people living here and we also established schools for languages in our houses. God's blessing did not fail us, as the brethren have mastered the languages, and preach mostly in Arabic." From the same report we learn that "by invitations of the king, four Dominicans left for Armenia and will first study the Armenian language." It is to be regretted that we hear nothing else of these schools, about their organization and their success.[11]

The soul of the whole movement in the Dominican Order was the famous Raymond of Pennafort.[12] Having resigned as General of the Order, he centered his whole activity on the conversion of the Jews and Moors in Spain. Through him schools for the Arabic language were established at Murcia in Spain and Tunis in North Africa; as teachers he employed Moors, recent converts to the faith. His successor as Master General, John the Teuton, gave directions to the provincial chapter at Toledo (1250) to appoint eight brethren for the study of the Arabic language, the number to be raised to twelve.[13] Among these students was the celebrated missionary, Raymond Martini. The General following John the Teuton, Humbert de Romans,[14] fostered energetically the mission cause. In a letter (1255) to all members of the Order he complains strongly about the lack of missionaries and difficulties concerning the languages. "Not only the love for the home country is holding many back," he writes, "others are hindered in the work of conversions as they have a poor knowledge of the language and almost

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 24 lin., 6 sqq.; Altaner, in *ZM*, 23 (1933), 235.

[12] Schwertner, *Saint Raymond of Pennafort* (Milwaukee, 1935), especially chapter VII, "Missionary Life", 105-122.

[13] Altaner, *Dominikanermissionen*, 92; id., in *ZM*, 237.

[14] Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des Frères prêcheurs* (Paris, 1903), I, 518 sqq.; Altaner, in *ZM*, 237.

no one is eager to take to his study." Finally, he makes an urgent appeal to all who would be ready to learn a language to give their names to him. This touching appeal did not go unheard. Many sent in their names, and a rosy optimism pervades the letter written by Humbert de Romans (1256) in grateful appreciation to the response of his brethren. He refers for instance, to the missionaries in Spain, " qui iam multis annis inter Saracenos in arabico studuerunt," who, as a result of speaking Arabic, are making progress in converting the Moors. In his commentary on the rule of the Order, the zealous Humbert de Romans explains the missionary duty of the General of the Order: "first, to foster always the conversion of those who are outside the Church and therefore to promote the study of languages, not only of Arabic, Greek and Hebrew, but also the languages of barbarian countries. The General should take care that missionaries interested in this study and this work should be selected and be sent to the respective schools."

For the following decades, even into the fourteenth century, other regulations and chapters of the Order can be mentioned which issued similar decrees and directions. I refer to the provincial chapter of Saragossa (1257) and the general chapter at Valenciennes in 1259. The latter was attended by some of the best known teachers of the Order, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and Peter of Tarantaise; here, the command was given to the Spanish province to establish a school for Arabic in Christian Spain and the monastery at Barcelona was proposed as the place for it. This school was to be open to all members of the Order and applications should be made to the General. It seems that a central school was intended at Barcelona for learning Arabic for all missionaries going to North Africa and the Near East. From the resolution of the provincial chapter in 1281 at Estella we read that ten brethren were sent to the school for the study of Arabic at Valencia and nine others for the study of Hebrew at Barcelona, among them, as lector, Raymond Martini. Again the general chapter of Palencia in 1291 ordered for the newly established monastery at Jativa, near Valencia, a school for Hebrew and Arabic. The provincial chapter of the Aragon province directed the superior

to appoint a Jew or an Arab with Petrus Scarramati as teachers for the respective languages. It is probable that a reorganization and unification of these language schools was planned at the general chapter at Piacenza in 1310. The plan was to establish three schools for Hebrew, Greek and Arabic. We do not know if at each of these three schools all three languages were to be taught or if there was just one central school for each language. Each province was allowed to send one student for each language but also had to pay for the student. At this time the Dominican Order was organized in eighteen provinces, and accordingly, forty-eight students were privileged to attend.[15]

A final regulation, although as late as 1332, is the resolution of the general chapter at Dijon; it was in compliance with the express desire of Pope John XXII to the Master General to send fifty members to the monasteries at Pera (suburb of Constantinople) and Kaffa (Crimea) and to provide for teachers in the languages.[16] The question is open, whether it was necessary to establish two new schools,—since three schools had been founded in 1310, and if so what about the other schools established previously, even in the Orient. One cannot help but say that some of the above mentioned plans had not been realized on account of unforeseen obstacles and difficulties of which we can make only conjectures. It is certain that schools were established and in existence for some time; but of no school could we give proof of a longer duration, or that one was of decisive importance for the missionaries in their linguistic training. In harmony with these suppositions are the very critical statements, as mentioned above, by Humbert de Romans, Roger Bacon and Ricoldus da Monte Croce, as they complain how poor the provisions were for the linguistic training of the missionaries. As a whole we may say that in those days by far the largest number of the Dominican missionaries received their immediate practical training, also in regard to the language, in the country itself, as far as they had the opportunity and earnest will to make

[15] Altaner, *loc. cit.*, 239. It seems probable that the schools were occasionally transferred to other places.

[16] *Ibid.*, 240.

themselves efficient and not to be content to rely on interpreters who were very unreliable in translating the word of God.[17]

No doubt, in the actual preparation the Franciscans had made similar efforts along with the Dominicans, but we hardly know of any details, as the main sources, namely the acts of the general and provincial chapters, to a great extent are lost.[18] Furthermore, the missionary ideal as first set forth by St. Francis for the members of his Order underwent considerable changes and suffered in the same proportion as the original ideal and the first rule of the Order. The whole composition of the "secunda regula" and the sequence of its chapters show it, as the chapter on the missions is at the very end and without inner connection.[19] The missionary work is no longer presented as the heroic following of Christ, but is merely represented as the work amongst non-Catholics. Within the Order, therefore, no official statements are to be found in favor of the missions, with the exception of two statutes, both referring only to the sending of brethren to the missions.[20] Both, the Dominicans and Franciscans have the same share in the practical work of conversion, but in their attitude and method of approach they differ; the latter speak practically only of the moral and ascetical fitness of the missionary, even to be prepared for martyrdom, and about the superiors in regard to the missions;[21] the former mention study and plans for methods of approach, especially those for the educated classes.[22]

The problem of linguistic training for the missionaries was also of interest for the popes, who, in the late Middle Ages were the

[17] *Ibid.*, 235. The Franciscan, William of Rubruk, complains much about the insufficiency of the interpreters. Cf. Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* (Quaracchi, 1929), I, 222.

[18] Altaner, in *ZM*, 21 (1931), 120; Lemmens, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen* (Münster, 1929), 4.

[19] The "prima regula" of St. Francis has 23 chapters and the mission work is treated in chapters 14-17, and especially in chapter 16. Cf., van der Vat, *op. cit.*, 11.

[20] van der Vat, *op. cit.*, 29; Lemmens, *op. cit.*, 3.

[21] van der Vat, *op. cit.*, 24.

[22] Grabmann, "Die Missionsidee bei den Dominikanertheologen des 13. Jahrhunderts", in *ZM*, 1 (1911), 138; van der Vat, *op. cit.*, 25.

guiding and controlling factor for missionary work.[23] An authoritative pronouncement concerning this matter was made by the Council of Vienne in canon 11 on May 6, 1312, which was inserted in 1317 by Pope John XXII in the Clementine Decretals, Lib. V. tit. I. According to this canon two teachers for each of the languages, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac were to be appointed at the universities at Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca: "The Council expects from those who have made these courses of linguistic studies that they will render fruitful service in the work of the propagation of the Faith." [24] It is evident that the urgent motive for this canon was not a philological interest and also not primarily for biblical study, but for the missions.

Although this canon was formulated and decreed at the Council of Vienne, and therefore historically belongs to the fourteenth century, nevertheless its antecedents reach back into the thirteenth century and the promoter and author of this canon is Raymond Lull,[25] the greatest missionary to the Mohammedans in the Middle Ages. Often reference is made to his strange philosophical thought; but in the first place he was not a philosopher; [26] his whole life was devoted to the mission cause with an undefeated idealism. A petition he made in 1311 just before the Council of Vienne convened contains his favorite plan to have three monasteries established for language studies for the missionaries. Raymond Lull had learned Arabic from a moorish slave [27] and so perfectly that he held public disputations with Arabian scholars in their own language. He conceived the plan of fostering language study in the interest of the missions. First, he succeeded in 1276 in win-

[23] Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History* (Techny, 1933), 223.

[24] Altaner, in *ZM*, 21 (1931), 121; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, VI, 535, 545; Schroeder, *Disciplinary decrees of the general councils* (St. Louis, 1937), 395; Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne* (Münster, 1934).

[25] Two biographies deserve to be mentioned here: E. Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull* (London, 1929), and Samuel M. Zwemer, *Raymund Lull, the first missionary to the Moslems* (New York, 1902). Cf. Streit, "Raimundus Lull, der Caballero espiritual", in *ZM*, 10 (1920), 1937.

[26] Keicher, *R. Lullus und seine Stellung zur arabischen Philosophie* (Münster, 1909), 32; Peers, *op. cit.*, 350.

[27] Peers, *op. cit.*, 40.

ning King James I. of Spain to establish and provide funds for a college in his country, on the island of Mallorca at Miramar. This college was intended for the study of the Arabic language, to be conducted under his own direction, with thirteen Franciscans as students. Pope John XXI approved this institution;[28] for unknown reasons, however, it was discontinued in 1292, after having existed for seventeen years. But Raymond Lull never gave up the idea of establishing monasteries for learning the languages. In a long series of letters and essays, in numerous petitions addressed to popes, cardinals, princes, universities and superiors of missionary Orders, in all of his literary work[29] for almost thirty years he called attention to the importance of and the need for linguistic preparation by the future missionaries. His plans centered mostly on the establishment of three to five such monasteries, patterned after that of Miramar. No less than seven times he explained his plans to the popes and the Roman curia. Once he came forward with a new plan to erect a mission center at the curia, at the head of which should be placed a cardinal, and his main purpose should be to organize missionary linguistic schools.[30] In his plan Raymond Lull included also primitive languages, or, as the need was for his days, the Tartaric languages; truly he had a missionary world-wide outlook. Emphatically does he point out that Christianity has to face matters of far-reaching importance. "If the Tartaric powers," he says, "which are sought by the Jews and Saracens, could be gained for the Christian religion, it would signify the victory of the Church over the world and especially over the power of Islam, the arch-enemy of Christianity. If to the contrary, the

[28] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, III, 253, n. 7; Altaner, "Die Heranbildung eines einheimischen Klerus in der Mission des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts" in *ZM*, 18 (1928), 199. Raymond Lull was a Franciscan Tertiary.

[29] For an appreciation of his missionary writings, see, Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum* (Münster, 1916), I, 255-259. For some of his missionary writings, see the biography by Peers, 72-75, "Book of contemplation"; 82-100, "Book of the Gentile and the three wise men"; 174, "Blanquerna"; 197-200, "Book of the Tartar and the Christian"; 248-250, "Book of the five wise men"; 316-318, "Liber de Fine"; 330-333, "Disputation of Ramona the Christian and Hamar the Saracen".

[30] Altaner, in *ZM*, 21 (1931), 122. This whole plan of a mission center at Rome was very much like the present Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

Tartars will embrace the Mohammedan religion it will endanger Christian Europe in a most threatening crisis, maybe even bring its downfall."[31] How true this warning was can be seen in the march of the Turks on Europe and the two sieges of Vienna. Raymond Lull strongly raised his voice for the missions among the Tartars, as the call of the hour. It was necessary more than ever to double the missionary zeal and effort, and therefore most urgent was also the need for the missionary to know the language of the Tartars.[32] Lull worked for his missionary plans with utmost zeal when the Council of Vienna had been announced. As soon as it was opened, he came personally to Vienna and laid before it the "Petitio in concilio generali ad aquirendam Terram sanctam," asking for the establishment of monasteries for language study at Rome, Paris and Toledo. He saw then his great plans and ideas realized and was overjoyed when Canon 11 was passed by the Council.[33] Raymond Lull went back to Tunisia to work again among the Mohammedans until 1316, when he was stoned to death. He was spared great disappointments, since the practical results from this canon were little and insignificant.

Linguistic training was bearing its first fruits notwithstanding the fact that they were realized only in part. We see the results reflected in the mission literature of those days. It is the mission literature which shows how the missionary had adapted himself to his needs. For instance, the apologetic books display such an intimate knowledge of the religion of the Mohammedans and others to such an extent that these books are still today sources of information. Besides, these apologetical books, the result of many disputations with Jews and Mohammedans, necessitated a more correct interpretation of Catholic philosophy and theology. This proper interpretation was not worked out by the missionary alone, but was also the fruit of the labor of theologians at home who took an active interest in these missionary problems;[34] and finally all

[31] Peers, *op. cit.*, 249, 317.

[32] Altaner, *op. cit.*, 123.

[33] Altaner, "Raymundus Lullus und der Sprachenkanon des Konzils von Vienne", in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, 53 (1933), 190-219.

[34] Grabmann, in *ZM*, 1 (1911), 138. Goyau, *Missions and Missionaries* (London, 1932), 39-46.

dogmatic problems bound up with the missionary idea and missionary concept were properly inserted into the system of Catholic theology by St. Thomas Aquinas.

The *Summa Theologica* is constructed on so grand a scale that all peoples are able to rediscover within its spacious symmetries whatever was true and genuine in their ancient science and beliefs, concerning God and the world, human nature and human conduct.[35] Aquinas has aided the missions in a more immediate way. At the instance of St. Raymond, he wrote for his fellow religious in the mission to Islam in Spain, the *Summa contra Gentiles*,[36] and for others working among the same peoples in the Near East, a shorter treatise entitled, *De rationibus Fidei contra Saracenos*.[37] The former work has justly been styled the classical production of mediaeval apologetics; the latter is more or less a condensed presentation of the same subject. Concerning mission methods Aquinas has many a practical thing to say:[38] We cannot compel unbelievers to embrace the Faith against their will;[39] Faith is an intellectual assent; the grounds for Faith must be taught as the only possible preparation for the act. Courage was needed to write such words in the age of the Crusades and in direct contradiction to the forcible mission work by some military Orders. The same principle was also upheld by Roger Bacon, yet a great contrast exists between these two men. Thomas explains in his quiet convincing manner; Bacon in bitter, pungent words condemns the missionary methods by military force.[40] How much harm might have been prevented had this principle been kept in mind and put into practice in the missions of the sixteenth century and even after.

How important the work of St. Thomas was for his co-religious is apparent in the literary works of Raymond Martini, a well known

[35] Ohm, *Die Stellung der Heiden zu Natur und Übernatur nach dem hl. Thomas von Aquin* (Münster, 1927). Cf. also, Meyer, *Thomas von Aquin. Sein System und seine geistesgeschichtliche Stellung* (Bonn, 1938), 12-18.

[36] Grabmann, *op. cit.*, 140.

[37] *Opera omnia* (ed. Vivès, Paris, 1875), XXVII, Opus, II, 128.

[38] Ohm, "Akkommodation und Assimilation in der Heidenmission nach dem hl. Thomas von Aquin", in *ZM*, 17 (1917), 14-113.

[39] *Summa theol.*, II, II, q. 10, art. 8.

[40] *Opus maius*, I, 111; van der Vat, *loc. cit.*, 184.

missionary (1284).[41] We know of two works by Martini: The first is: *Explanatio symboli Apostolorum. . . .* The purpose of this book is to instruct the faithful who lived in Jewish and Arabian countries and to serve also as a handbook for the missionaries in their instructions. A second work, which had several editions, is the *Pugio Fidei.* This has three parts. In the first, where we meet not only the inspirations, but even verbal quotations, from St. Thomas, he refutes the objections of Arabian philosophers against revelation. In the second, he proves, in conflict with the Talmud, how the coming of the Saviour has fulfilled the prophecies of the Messiah; in the third he establishes the dogmas of the Trinity, of original sin, of Redemption, using no other arguments except those found in the Hebrew Bible and in the writings of the rabbis.

Other Dominican writers and missionaries of note are William of Tripolis and the already mentioned Ricoldus da Monte Croce. William of Tripolis[42] dedicates his work to Theobaldus, later Pope Gregory X, *De statu Saracenorum et de Mahomete pseudopropheta eorum et eorum lege et fide.* In the last sentence he writes: "This is written by one who has baptized 1000 and more Mahommedans." Ricoldus da Monte Croce[43] from Florence, Italy, travelled extensively in the Orient and his experience we find in his book *Itinerarium*, written in Latin and translated into French and Italian. On account of his interesting news in the following centuries the book was reprinted. Of his strenuous missionary work among the Saracens he tells in his *Propugnaculum fidei adversus mendacia et deliramenta Saracenorum Alcorani*, later also reprinted. These were the beginnings of the literary missionary work which was continued by the Dominicans during the fourteenth century. Regarding the Franciscans, mention of Roger Bacon was made above.

[41] Grabmann, *op. cit.*, 144. According to the findings of Getino it has been accepted that Martini is dependent upon Thomas, not vice versa. The *Pugio Fidei* was completed in 1278. According to Motte, *Revue Thomiste*, 44 (1938), 806-809, the first part of the *Summa contra Gentiles* was written between March and July, 1258.

[42] Altaner, *Dominikanermissionen*, 85.

[43] *Ibid.*, 5, 60, 82; Barge, "Der Dominikanermönch Ricoldus und seine Missionsreise nach dem Orient," in *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, 43 (1916), 27-40.

Another of his writings might be mentioned, written about 1267, *De situ Terrae Sanctae* [44] where he emphasizes in the preface the importance of the apostles of Christ being acquainted with usages and customs of each nation. Of Raymond Lull reference was made above in regard to his intense missionary zeal and enthusiasm. It would be necessary to go through all his writings in order to characterize their value and importance.

No doubt, in the thirteenth century enthusiastic and energetic men laid the foundation for a great epoch. It was the beginning of a new mission era and of a new literary missionary renaissance, reaching in St. Thomas a high standard of missionary thought. There was constant energetic zeal and action flowing from the home field to the missionary field and again a wholesome influence to the home country; it was the lively and fruitful relation between mission work and theology, the preparation at home and its application in the missions, and again a harvesting in the non-Christian countries that was to enrich knowledge and to broaden and deepen Christian philosophical and religious thought. The hopes and expectations of these men in the thirteenth century indeed heralded a new missionary epoch, a most promising beginning for the modern missions, had it not been stopped. Christians were losing ground in the Near East and the invasions of the Turks ended practically any missionary effort in these countries and cut also the connecting link with the Far East. Real deadly destruction of all missionary enterprise was the devastation brought on by the Black Death, since no missionaries were available to go forth to preach the word of God. But these men who revived and reorganized the missionary work in the thirteenth century have also fully the right to be mentioned and to be respected with those who made this century the greatest century of the Middle Ages.

MATHIAS BRAUN

[44] Golubovich, *Bibliotheca bio-bibliografica della Terra Sancta e dell' Oriente Franciscano* (Quaracchi, 1906), I, 268.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER TO THE HISTORIAN OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES *

In 1893 when Frederick Jackson Turner advanced his hypothesis concerning the influence of the Anglo-American frontiersman upon the development of the United States, conditions were such that they helped materially toward a ready acceptance of the idea. The statement that "an American is a born enemy of all European peoples" was probably truer at that time than it ever has been before or since.[1] In 1893 reconstruction of the nation after the war of the States was something that the people liked to consider as finished. The United States were truly united in government, by railroads and an unbroken chain of cities, hamlets and farms from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. But the country was not yet recognized by Europe as a world power. National adolescence had come to an end; and just as the youth who attains his majority has a sudden desire to let people know that he no longer depends upon anyone, so we in the 1890's sought to express our self-sufficiency among the older nations. One need not force the parallel farther. It might be suggested, however, that the Spanish American War obtained for us what we wanted, by a means quite similar to that which might have been used by an over-grown boy resorting to his fists to assert his superiority. Be that as it may, in 1893 we were still seeking equality with the great nations of the old world and a theory which encouraged us to believe that we had developed our own characteristic excellence by our own struggle with our own virgin wilderness was a theory not hard for us to accept. If there were murmurs of opposition to Turner's hypothesis when first he proposed it they were lost in the roar of approval.

* Paper read at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Chicago, December 28, 1938.

[1] Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, preface, ii.

Students flocked to the classes of Dr. Turner at the University of Wisconsin. On graduation, they were accepted into history faculties of the country, where they spread the good evangel. When Albert Bushnell Hart decided to edit *The American Nation, A History From Original Sources By Associate Scholars,* Turner was chosen to write the volume on the rise of the new West.[2] Other brilliant authors conducted researches along the lines indicated by the master and the flow of captivating literature on our territorial expansion began to pour forth from the presses of the land.[3]

The principal ideas of the theory may be expressed briefly in six propositions:

1. Life on the frontier changed Europeans over into Americans because it put them in a wilderness which stripped them of their former culture, reduced them to a state of near savagery and forced them to adopt the life of the aborigines. From this quasi-primitive existence a new civilization evolved distinct from the old civilization because the new environment where it developed was distinct from that of Europe.

2. This new civilization had a new idea of a nation with a manifest destiny to expand over the entire continent and ignore those geographical features of river and mountain range which constituted the natural boundaries of other countries.

3. This new civilization was so imbued with the idea of preserving national unity that it was ready to force sections to remain united despite any will to the contrary.

4. This new civilization was by the necessity of its evolution a democratic society.

[2] Turner, F. J., *The Rise of the New West,* New York, 1906.

[3] A number of these books are catalogued in Everett E. Edwards, *References on the Significance of the Frontier in American History,* a publication of the U. S. Department of Agriculture Library (Bibliographical contributions, no. 25), Oct. 1935, pp. 62. A goodly number of scholars turned to the editing of contemporary journals. Suffice it to recall R. G. Thwaites's series, *Early Western Travelers.* Others dealt with typical Western institutions such as H. M. Chittenden in his *History of the Fur Trade,* and *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri.* Still others studied the means of communication, as A. B. Hulbert with his series on *Historic Highways.* Finally there were those who put the whole theory into fascinating historic treatises of our nation, such as *America Moves West* by R. E. Riegel and the *Epic of America,* by J. T. Adams.

5. This new civilization was by the necessity of its evolution characterized by a new acuteness, new inquisitiveness, new practical inventiveness, new restless energy, and exuberant freedom.

6. This new civilization, very naturally placed new responsibilities on the United States government, in regard to tariff, land policy, internal improvements, etc.[4]

It is a surprisingly ingenious theory. It is remarkable how it can be made to fit our history. The westerner becomes the true American. Washington who spent his youth on the frontier, if he did not actually evolve there, at least imbibed the spirit of the West and dominates the revolution and the constitutional convention. Next the muscular frontiersman invades Kentucky, the Old Northwest and Louisiana. Then Andrew Jackson leavens the east with western democracy. A new flood of pioneers win Texas, the Oregon Country, and finally California. Lincoln, the typical frontiersman, preserves the union against the southern planter who has kept contact with Europe and has not evolved into the energetic pleb. Finally, in the era of big business, the inventive genius and restlessness of the West speeds up invention and the production of luxury, and we become what we are today the wealthiest and most self-sufficient nation on the globe.

The simplicity with which one may thus explain the principal political and cultural developments of our history may account for the popularity with which the hypothesis was greeted by one group of history teachers who have little time to prepare their matter and less time to think about it. Once they had learned the formula for the first step westward in American history, they realized that the process might be used over and over again as pioneers and students marched in successive waves through the vast wilderness of the hinterland to the Pacific Ocean and June graduation.

However, there was still another group of independent scholars, small indeed in those days of the theory's almost universal popularity, who sensed that such a repetition of plunges into the wilderness by Anglo-American pioneers neglected the presence of certain facts which had left their mark in the primary sources and in the American character. With a stroke of the pen, Turner had

[4] Cf. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, chap. I.

excluded from his history the fact that Spaniards and French had travelled through, labored in, and settled on the territory which he preferred to consider a wilderness.[5] Men like Bourne, Thwaites, and Bolton felt that this was not a true picture of the facts and came forward with books which were most enlightening to those who chose to stop and read.[6]

As the years passed by a "Bolton School" of history teachers began to grow up at the University of California. Finally, after Turner's death in March 1932, Dr. Bolton, as retiring President of the American Historical Association, took advantage of the annual meeting in Toronto to bring his theory to the attention of the delegates assembled from all over North America. A few thoughts from his address significant to the Catholic student of frontier history are worth recalling. It began with the suggestion that there

> was need of a broader treatment of American history to supplement the purely nationalistic interpretation to which we are accustomed. European history cannot be learned from books dealing alone with England or France, or Germany, or Italy, or Russia; nor can American history be adequately presented if confined to Brazil, or Chile, or Mexico, or Canada, or the United States.[7]

Hence it followed that the colonial activities of Spain and France and Holland and Sweden and England in North America must be considered if we are to form a correct opinion of how our nation was built. One cannot present the full picture of our national growth by erasing these people from the scene and concentrating on the Western move of the frontiersmen from the thirteen English colonies because many European nations began on the rim of the continent and

[5] Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, preface, i.

[6] Thwaites contributed *France in America* to Hart's *American Nation Series* in 1900; Bourne recognized the necessity of treating the activity of the Spaniards when he added *Spain in America* to the same series in 1904; Bolton and Marshall wrote a book on the *Colonization of North America* in 1920, which included both Spanish and French activities. In 1928, Bolton published *History of the Americas* which maintained that the history of all colonizing nations of our hemisphere must be studied to understand our national development.

[7] Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America", *The American Historical Review*, xxxviii, 448.

> pushed into the interior opening new mines, new missions, new plantations, new farms, new trading posts, new administrative jurisdictions. Sometimes the advance to the hinterland was a westward movement, sometimes it was eastward, sometimes southward, sometimes northward.[8]

The result was that in the territory which is now the United States, almost as soon as Anglo-American settlements crossed the Appalachians they found it convenient to lean upon the aid of the French *engagés*.[9] From that day until a time about fifty years later when the United States had expanded almost to the Pacific

> these hardy souls, half European, half Indian, still formed the backbone of the fur trade both in Canada and the United States. . . . They served as guides into the wilderness, for their ancestors for generations had led the van, whether under English, French, Spanish or American rule. Just as the American cowboy learned his trade from the Spanish *vaquero*, so the American fur trader borrowed his methods and his lingo from the French métis.[10]

Backed by his own researches and those of scholars who had worked under him he was able to conclude his address with the assertion that

> in recent years the range of investigation in Western Hemisphere history has vastly broadened. . . . Many of the new discoveries do not fit into the nationalistic pattern. In the old synthesis their significance is lost. In a larger framework, on the other hand, many things which have seemed obscure and secondary become outstanding and primary.
>
> This applies especially to Borderland researches. Brebner studied the institutional relations of New England and the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and concluded that the histories of Canada and the United States should be treated as one. Just as emphatically, those who have studied the borderland areas between Saxon and Hispanic America

[8] Bolton, *loc. cit.*, 453, and on page 463 he emphasizes the fact that with regard to "the outcome (of this struggle) none could predict, patriotic historians to the contrary notwithstanding".

[9] Harrodstown and Boonesboro, the first settlements in Kentucky were made in 1774, and in 1778 George Rogers Clark was allying himself with Father Gibault, pastor of the French settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, to win the French town of Vincennes and the old Northwest.

[10] Bolton, *loc. cit.*, 465-466.

> are convinced that the two fields are inextricably linked together. Borderland zones are vital not only in the determination of international relations, but also in the development of culture. In this direction one of the important modifications of the Turner thesis is to be sought. (By borderland areas not solely geographical regions are meant; borderline studies of many kinds are similarly fruitful.)[11]

Dr. Bolton ended his presidential address by calling upon his listeners to undertake research work into the other borderlines where the Anglo-American frontiersman came into contact with culture, philosophy and religion transplanted from Europe either before his arrival on the scene, or contemporaneously with it. Now, Spain and France were both millitantly Catholic countries during all of their colonial occupation of our continent, hence the influence of Catholic contact upon the Turner type of explorer and settler opens up a field of study particularly suited to the researches of the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States.

The retiring president of the American Historical Association had hinted in one part of his discourse that a study of Catholic

[11] Bolton, *loc. cit.*, 473. A few months after Bolton's address was delivered, Dr. Joseph Schaefer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, attacked Turner's fundamental principle with regard to the evolution of the near savage frontiersman into the new American civilization. In an article entitled "Turner's Frontier Philosophy" which appeared in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June 1933, he brought forth the evidence of extensive researches with regard to immigration as proof that it was a second wave of eastern Americans or emigrants direct from Europe who became the fathers of western American society. These men purchased the partially improved lands of the frontiersman, and hence did not have to strip themselves of European culture. On the other hand the white men who had made savages of themselves together with their illegitimate offspring never improved their state but regularly moved on into the wilderness as soon as a more respectable society caught up with them. If it is asked what became of this sort when the frontier ceased to be, we might add that they found a frontier in the vague country of "Gangland" and may be found there still, practising a near savage life as usual.

The publication, posthumously, of Turner's *The Significance of Sections in American History* afforded the occasion for other criticism of his theory. One reviewer, Louis M. Hacker, in *The Nation*, July 26, 1933, wrote: "One scarcely exaggerates in saying that the patient and obscure toiling of another long generation of American historical scholars will be required to destroy this influence; for Turner and his followers were the fabricators of a tradition which is not only fictitious, but also to a very large extent positively harmful".

mission activity of Spain and France might lead to the necessity for further modification of Turner's thesis.[12] In the January 1935 issue of *Mid-America,* Dr. W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., published an article under the caption of "The Frontier Hypothesis: A Corollary" which developed this thought. He proved that there were whole portions of the area now embraced by the United States where Turner's idea of the effect of the white man's contact with the Indians was false, due to the previous existence of Catholic missions in such sections. Though the Anglo-American may have had no other aim than the extermination of the aborigine, Shiels did not admit that they gained no result save a "periodic return to primitive conditions" from their association with the Indians.[13] Though not going into great detail, this article suggested that they derived profit from the work of the early missionaries:

> The Creeks, Chichasaws, Choctaws and Cherokees learned to deal with whitemen through the gray Franciscans, the white Dominicans, or the black robe Jesuits. The Natchez Miamis, Wyandots, even the Iriquois had their savagery softened by contact with these pioneers. Crossing the Mississippi, the Pottawatomies, Sioux, Mandans, Arapahoes, Blackfeet, Flatheads, Nez Percés, Willamettes and countless Canadian tribes had their first solid contact with the white race through the missionary. The Indian was as much moved by bravery and disinterestedness and honor as by the profit in peltry, and his relations with the onward sweep of whites were deeply affected by "men of God".[14]

Of course this softening of savage nature made it easier for the Anglo-American to advance the frontier. In fact the presence

[12] Bolton, *loc. cit.*, 452-453.

[13] It may be noted in passing that the Catholic missionaries were the only ones who had any extensive success with the Indians during the frontier days. Adams, *The Epic of America*, 35, remarks of Protestant divines: "Nor, again . . . were they fired with any missionary zeal. There was some talk now and then of the glory of converting the heathen, but for the most part little or nothing was done toward that end. The Reverend John Elliot, in Massachusetts did attempt it, and translated the Bible into Algonquin, but he was almost the only person who ventured to think of the Indian as a soul to be saved rather than a child of the devil to be fought when need be—'devilish men who serve nobody but the devil'—as Dominie Michaelius called them."

[14] Shiels, *loc. cit.*, 5-6.

of fine farms, mines and cattle ranches, occupied by the defenseless missionaries and mission Indians, were often the motives that drew him westward, not any evolutionary instinct toward manifest destiny. In passing, too, it may be noted that in the later period of America's advance, it was often the Indian who had to be removed from the savagery of the white man, lest he be contaminated; while the white man if he had put on the character of the mission Indian when he first came to Montana and California would have run no risk of having reverted to near savagery. On the contrary, the aborigines in these parts, though perhaps not completely ready to be released from missionary directors, were far more civilized than the Anglo-American invaders.[15]

However, other thoughts suggested by Shiels' article were vastly more significant to the Catholic historians of the frontier than this. The charge frequently levelled at the Catholic Indian missions is that these institutions were useless, since they passed away with the passing of the frontier. The writer asserted that in the colonial scheme of Spain and France their part was not intended to be a permanent one. Theirs was the duty of rendering the natives sedentary if possible, of teaching them to till the fields, raise flocks and herds, and learn useful arts. Along with this, they were expected to Christianize the savages partially at least. Then the civil authorities were to step in and complete the job of making the redmen good citizens. Says Shiels:

> The mission was definitely chosen as a distinctly frontier institution. As such it would be temporary, transient, formative, moving and

[15] For the most part, the story of the mission Indian still remains to be told. But a few splendid books dealing with certain phases of the work have been published: Englehardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*; Palladino, *Indian and White in the Northwest*; Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet*. In connection with the missionary activities of Father De Smet, it is well to remember that he has been officially credited with saving our government millions of dollars and untold lives through his activities as ambassador to hostile tribes as the frontier moved up the Missouri and along the Platte (Donnelly, *Historical Records and Studies*, xxiv). It has also been said that if Father De Smet's solution of the Indian land problem had been adopted there would be no Indian problem today. His suggestions are contained in *New Indian Sketches*, 139-140.

> not fixed. Both French and Spanish proposed it as the front line of their advance. In the mind of the "New Laws" of Charles V, the mission was to be given ten years to do its work. It would then be supplanted by the civil institutions, the *cabildo* and the parish, and the mission would be moved ahead to the next chosen sector to perform a similar cycle wherever needed.[16]

Significant though they be to the Catholic historian of the United States, the findings of Bolton and Shiels have not as yet matured to conclusions as remarkable as those established by another group of Catholic researchers.

In 1914, Dr. Peter Guilday, the esteemed secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association, began his American Church History Seminar at the Catholic University of America. The results of this project soon became apparent in a growing series of monographs and books from the pen of the learned doctor and his students. Then, about 1930, a change in the history faculty at Catholic University of America created a division devoted exclusively to American Church History under the direction of Dr. Guilday. Contemporaneously with this change many of the scholars of the department began to devote their efforts to topics dealing with the position of the Catholic Church on the Anglo-American frontier. To cite a few examples there were Sister Mary Aquinas Norton's *Catholic Missionary Activities in the Northwest* which appeared in 1930; Father McNamara's *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier* (1931); Father Walker's *The Catholic Church in the Meeting of Two Frontiers* 1935; Sister M. Ramona Mattingly's *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier* (1936); and finally, Sister M. Aquinata Martin's *The Catholic Church on the Nebraska Frontier* (1937). These books proved, for the districts covered, that the Catholic Church not only had missions for the Indians in the early days, but long before the log cabin and forest clearing days had passed the Catholic Chuhch was functioning with complete ecclesiastical organization for the white population. In a

[16] Shiels, *loc. cit.*, 7. For a fuller consideration of this function of the mission one may consult Bolton, "Mission as a Frontier Institution", in *The American Historical Review*, October 1917. In 1936 at Loyola University, Chicago, The Jesuit Institute of History was inaugurated to study the American Missions of the Society of Jesus. Father Shiels is on the staff.

word, during the time when the Anglo-Americans were supposed by Turner to be reverting to savagery, the Catholic Church was at work, shoulder to shoulder with the backwoodsman, carrying on in their midst the same efficient cultural program which has been perfected by eighteen hundred years of experience.

The working of this program is built round an overseer, for a fairly large district, called a bishop. Under him come a corps of trained priests dependent on him but so distributed as to be available to the people in all parts of the diocese. These priests are educated in seminaries and in turn supervise schools where the members of the congregation are instructed in a culture of amazing beauty. Dr. Guilday's students proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that such schools, seminaries, priests and bishops did exist in frontier Kentucky, in frontier Indiana, in frontier Illinois and in frontier Nebraska. If further study could demonstrate the same facts for the rest of the various Anglo-American frontiers then Catholicism becomes very important in American history.

Indeed, it seemed to a group of graduate students at Marquette University that her position might be so important that it could be proved that she had more to do with the growth of western culture than any other element whatever it might be.

From ancient books, almanacs, Catholic directories, the files of Catholic papers and periodicals, these young men and women set about to discover: first whether the Church had an organization on all frontiers; secondly whether such organization was esoteric or really exerted influence on the daily lives and formation of character among the frontiersmen, Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

This is not the place to tell all the interesting data that have been uncovered, but the instancing of a few facts will reveal how rich the field is, and why these students think that the day is not far distant when it may be proven that from the creation of the first episcopal See of Baltimore in 1789 until the passing of the frontier the Catholic Church organization both kept step with the advance of the Anglo-American and exerted a tremendous influence upon him.

The first fact to be noted is this. Just when the frontier of the United States crossed the Appalachians, that remarkable thing in

Europe, known as the French Revolution, by closing innumerable Catholic seminaries and universities, cast into exile a group of highly trained priests. The elite of this group came by scores to the new republic. Thus, Father Nagot, the director of the famous Seminary of St. Sulpice, came from those splendid halls of learning to "One Mile Tavern" which had been purchased by Bishop Carroll and there assumed the duties of directing the first seminary in the United States.[17] Father Badin and Nerinckx, the founders of the Church in Kentucky, were university men; Father Flaget, who was to become the first bishop of Kentucky in 1812, was a graduate of the College of Clermont and had been professor of the seminary at Nantes. Father Gabriel Richard, one of the most remarkable of them all, was a university man and was to have taught mathematics when he came to America, but the frontier called. He heard the call, and labored there with extraordinary influence. Fathers Beeston and Perigny, the latter a doctor of the Sorbonne, were so exceptional for learning that the one was chosen as secretary, the other as curator, of the Baltimore public library. Father Gallitzin, the Russian Prince who had been trained for the most exacting court of Europe, was brought to America indirectly by the Revolution.[18] Such were the men who came to our country through the providential workings of the French expulsions. And they came in such numbers that while Bishop Carroll bemoaned the fact that he had only 25 priests for his vast diocese of the entire United States to the Mississippi River, twenty years later this number had grown to 137.[19] A hundred and thirty-seven men is not a host even though they were such outstanding men, but they were in a sense an army for they did not come to work as individuals, but

[17] Dilhet-Browne, *Etat de l'Eglise dans les Etats Unis*, 16, 51.

[18] Dilhet-Browne, *op. cit.*, 51. Shea, *Defenders of the Faith*, 277. Brownson, *Life of Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin*, 60-61, 72. Dr. Herbermann, treating of "The Sulpicians in the United States" in the *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. 9, well may say: "It was a great advantage to the budding Church of the United States that Dubourg, Dubois, Flaget, Bruté and David were men . . . who in culture, scholarship, and learning were vastly superior to the average American minister of the Gospel."

[19] Dilhet-Browne, *op. cit.*, 51.

they were bound into a most efficient organization under the exceptional bishop of Baltimore.

When, after the accomplishment of American independence, Protestants on the Atlantic seaboard, had all they could to reorganize their individual congregations and there was chaos for the sectaries on the frontier, Carroll marshalled this efficient force of his at all points of vantage with the strategy of a general. To him the backwoods were as much to be cared for as the coast cities. The year after his appointment, while he still had but twenty-five priests, one of them, Father Paul de St. Pierre, was sent to the then farthest boundary of the union: to the French villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia.[20] Before the battle of Fallen Timber, Father Badin was at Pottingers Creek in western Kentucky, and in 1810 when Tecumpseh was threatening to drive the scattered whites from the Old Northwest, Father Flaget was consecrated bishop of the very country that was in dispute between them and the Indians. It is important to note that while this far-flung army of priests was working in such close contact with its superior the teachers of Protestant sects were almost completely cut off from eastern Protestantism with the result that the backwoods were deprived of any other type of learned divines. The men who acted as Protestant ministers were but pious pioneers who turned from weekday labors with ax and gun to conduct a Sunday prayer service.[21] Because such men had no knowledge of theology, and no schools of Protestant divinity appeared west of the Appalachians till long after the frontier days were past, this was a time of innumerable schisms from old sects and the foundation of as many entirely new creeds.[22] In a very enlightening article by Ray A. Billington which appeared in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December 1935, it is said that not until the foundation of

[20] Walker, *The Catholic Church in the Meeting of Two Frontiers*, 124.

[21] Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, 21.

[22] Sweet, *op. cit.*, 304-307, 317-318, traces some of the schisms of the Methodists and Presbyterians; in his *Religion on the American Frontier*, he notes the breakup of the Baptists, 22-60. Fish, *Rise of the Common Man*, 183-184, says "this was indeed a period particularly marked by the formation of new (religious) groups", and he instances Campbellites, Millerites, Mormons, Transcendentalists, etc.

the American Home Mission Society in 1826 were the orthodox groups of Protestantism able to make a definite entrance into the Middle West. Mr. Billington makes the statement that the society was organized primarily because at that time it was feared that the fragments of western Protestantism were about to be absorbed into the Church of Rome.[23] There was some foundation for such fear in 1826, because by then the number of Catholic priests had increased amazingly in the Mississippi Valley, teaching bodies of Catholic religious orders had arrived, and the number of Catholics had grown by leaps and bounds. Murray says that by 1820 the diocese of Bardstown had 25 priests, 35 churches and 40,000 Catholics. St. Louis, a few years later, counted 15,000 Catholics in its vicinity.[24]

But let a moment's attention be devoted to some of the cultural influences which had been brought to bear on the frontier since the day in 1793 when Badin entered Kentucky. In 1805 the Trappists opened a school in that State.[25] The Dominicans started a college near Lexington in 1808.[26] In 1817 the Lazarists opened a college at the Barrens, near St. Louis.[27] In 1823 the Jesuits came to St. Louis and a few years later took over the Latin school which Bishop Du Bourg had started. Eight years later they obtained a charter for St. Louis University, thus making it the

[23] Billington, "Anti-Catholic Propaganda and the Home Mission Movement", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, xxii, 372. In this respect one must keep in mind that the Great Protestant Revival of the early nineteenth century was in the West not a revival of any of the existing Protestant ideology. One has but to read descriptions of backwoods camp meetings with their emotional paroxysms, during which people rolled on the ground in the agony of their conversion, to understand that this religion of fear was something that approximated savage superstition and primitive propitiation of a vengeful deity rather than any form of Christianity. Cf. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, 327 ss.; Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, VI, 87 ss. Billington's book *The Protestant Crusade*, which carries further the idea that Protestants were afraid of losing the Mississippi Valley to Rome, published December 1938, came to hand too late to be quoted in this article.

[24] Murray, *Popular History of the Catholic Church*, 253.

[25] Burns, J. A., *The Catholic School System in the United States*, 176.

[26] Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, 202.

[27] Fox, *Life of Bishop David*, 60.

oldest university west of the Mississippi River.[28] In the meantime, in 1809, Mother Seton founded the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg and shortly after they began to open new missions, at about the time the Religious of the Sacred Heart came to St. Charles, Missouri, 1818. In 1812 Father Nerinckx launched a community of nuns in Kentucky known as the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, and the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth were established by Bishop David in the same state in 1815. A congregation of Sisters of St. Dominic was organized by Father Wilson in 1822. In 1833, in Philadelphia, the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary began their educational work which soon spread to the west, and Indiana was still a frontier in 1840 when the Sisters of Providence established themselves at St. Marys-of-the-Woods.[29]

Besides these teaching Orders there were many schools and colleges conducted by diocesan priests. Father Gabriel Richard, called the "leading educator of the Northwest", had organized the first complete grade and secondary school system at Detroit by 1808. He later became the co-founder of the University of Michigan and served as Vice-President and professor of six of the thirteen branches taught there. To him also goes the credit of bringing the first printing press to Michigan.[30] Father Byrne opened a school at Lebanon, Kentucky, in 1821 which educated 1,200 boys in the next twelve years. It was taken over by the Jesuits in 1831.[31] Bishop Flaget established St. Joseph's College at Bardstown in 1819. He had opened a seminary prior to this.[32] Bishop Fenwick had a seminary in Cincinnati as soon as he was installed there. What is more important for the understanding

[28] Garraghan, *The Jesuits in the Middle United States*, I, 192; Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 333.

[29] Code, *Great American Foundresses*, 92, 216, 131, 159, 233, 265, 299. Fuller descriptions of these foundations may be read in Maes, *Life of Father Nerinckx*; Callan, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America*; Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*; Fox, *Life of Bishop David*; O'Daniel, *The Father of the Church in Tennessee*.

[30] Burns, *op. cit.*, 183-185; also Jordan, "Sketch of the Life of Father Gabriel Richard", *Records*, American Catholic Historical Society, xxxvii, 268.

[31] Webb, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, 284-285.

[32] Burns, *op. cit.*, 322.

of the general cultural influence of these undertakings is that they were all conducted along lines of traditional courses of studies best suited for gaining their objective, and there was no experimental stage. Moreover, with the exception of the seminaries, all these institutions were open to Catholic and Protestant alike. Jefferson Davis as a boy spent some time at the College of St. Rose conducted by the Dominicans.[33]

Another Catholic contribution toward the humanistic leavening of the crude backwoods communities was the introduction of libraries brought there by the learned priests of France, Germany, and Italy. Father Gibault in pre-Revolutionary days had a library of two-hundred and eleven volumes at Cahokia, which included works on art, music, gardening, history, surgery, and medicine.[34] Bishop Bruté brought a library to Vincennes in 1834 which is still housed in a building next to St. Francis Xavier Cathedral and attracts the attention of visitors today. Bishop Du Bourg in 1817 at St. Louis had a library of almost a thousand books. These facts seem to prove that there was no time when the Catholic Church was not among the foremost dispensers of *belles lettres* on the frontier. With regard to the maintainance of art and architecture in the backwoods she was even more important and held an almost unique position in this respect.

At Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1816, Bishop Flaget laid the cornerstone of his cathedral. Three years later it was completed and it is described in the following words by a contemporary.

> It is very large and beautiful, comparatively with most other buildings in these parts. On it is raised a handsome steeple, containing a large bell and clock. (Allow me to interrupt the quotation to say that this was the first church bell in all the state of Kentucky) . . . on its summit, as usual in our Catholic Churches, the glorious cross . . . silently announces, even to the distant traveler, the love, the mercies, and the triumph of Our Redeemer. The ceiling is vaulted and four pillars on each side separate the nave from the aisles. The sanctuary is very spacious and in it,

[33] The wealthier non-Catholics gladly sent their children to Catholic schools, for as Slosson says in *The American Spirit of Education*, 107, "According to modern standards the school equipment of those days was unspeakably bad".

[34] McDermott, *Mid-America*, October 1935, 274-275.

> besides the high altar, there are two others and the pulpit becomingly decorated. A beautiful painting of the crucifixion hangs over the high altar, and on each side of the wall, which from the two side altars near the railing takes the inclination of a bow, are two paintings, one representing the descent from the cross, the other the solemn reproof made by St. Bernard, with the consecrated host in his hand, to William Duke of Aquitaine.[35]

The exterior of this church was red brick with a very pleasing Ionic porch supported by twelve lofty columns and decorated by numerous statues. It still stands and is prized so highly that it has been included in the Historic American Buildings Survey.[36] Imagine the impression it created on the Kentuckians who came in from their log cabins, with the din of the battle of Tippecanoe still ringing in their ears, for its dedication. They gazed with awe at the pictures donated by Louis Philippe of France and Francis I of Naples, and listened enraptured to the organ, the first ever brought to Kentucky, feeling the thrill of the liturgy as it was enacted by the bishop and his seminarians attired in rich vestments donated by foreign benefactors. Their pride swelled and Father Nerinckx was able to record that

> Merchants of Bardstown . . . contributed $50, $100, $200, $400 although non-catholics.[37]

Similar structures with similar endowments of art were soon reared at Cincinnati, Louisville, Vincennes and in St. Louis. In the latter city in 1818, Bishop Du Bourg had erected a temporary cathedral

[35] Shea, John G., *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 291-292; also Webb, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, 240.

[36] *Architectural Forum*, November 1934. Rines, E. F., *Old Historic Churches of America*, includes this church in his descriptions of American architecture. Contemporaneously Protestantism in the west had contributed nothing of value to this art.

[37] Maes, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, 130. Here again the Catholic Church had a vast advantage over the Protestant sects as purveyors of culture because they had European societies which contributed the best art and vestments and altar furniture as well as money to these churches, and the priests who traveled in Europe to obtain these aids for their missions had the opportunity to study the architecture of the Old World and the ability to reproduce it in the new. Cf. Roemer, *The Leopoldine Foundation*, and *The Ludwig Missionsverein*.

and covered the walls with pictures, some reputed to be by Rubens.[38] The second Bishop of St. Louis built what is known today as the Old Cathedral. It is another outstanding example of the architectural beauties of the Catholic Church on the frontier and was erected by Bishop Rosati in 1837. At this date the whole country beyond was a wilderness known only to the trapper. Fremont had not yet mapped the Oregon Trail. However, by then there were four bishopries in the Middle West and the four bishops gathered for the dedication of the monumental stone structure. A contemporary account of this event affords some idea of the impression made by this building on the large concourse of people who assembled to witness it:

> Inside the church is: in the first place, the sanctuary four feet higher than the rest of the church. It is 40 feet long and 30 feet wide and is separated by a Corinthian balustrade which forms the Communion rail, reached by several steps running all the length of the sanctuary. The back of the sanctuary is decorated with four fluted columns, with their gilt capitals and architrave, a frieze and a cornice, all of Corinthian style; in the pediment above is an oval window before which was placed a transparent picture representing the Holy Ghost under the form of a dove, emitting on all sides rays of light, some of which lose themselves in clouds in the midst of which may be seen angels; on either side of the pediment is the gilded figure of an angel carrying the two tables of the Old and New Law respectively. The organ loft is placed on one side of the sanctuary. . . . The picture of the main altar represents Our Lord Crucified with the Blessed Virgin, St. John and the holy women at the foot of the cross. This picture impresses greatly the Protestants who see it. . . . (The Church's) main body is made up of three aisles divided by two rows of five columns. . . . 27 feet in height and 3½ in diameter; the capitals which are of stone, painted in brass finish, the architrave and frieze and the large cornice running along both sides of the nave, are Doric. The vault of the nave soars forty feet above the ground. (The description goes on to expatiate on the stucco ceiling and the fourteen large windows, but sufficient has been said to gather some idea of the effect it must have had on the culture of the infant city. One other item in this description is worth noticing, however. The writer adds that "Protestants . . . come with pleasure and in goodly numbers" to sit in the pews of the cathedral.)[39]

[38] Rothensteiner, *op. cit.*, I, 273.

[39] *Ibid.*, I, 510-514.

It was said that only a small part of the cultural influence exerted by the Catholic Church on the character of the frontiersman could be included in this paper. The Marquette University graduate students found this influence at work, with similar results, wherever they were able to investigate frontier activities of the Church. There was Mazzuchelli who evangelized the upper Mississippi; then, in 1837 when Bishop Loras was appointed, he went into Iowa and drew the plans for the cathedral of Dubuque as well as the first state capitol and the city of Davenport. He finally returned to Wisconsin to found the Dominican college at Sinsinawa. Cretin began as an Indian missionary on the site of St. Paul and then as the first bishop of that diocese spread Catholic learning and beauty. Baraga did the same for the diocese of Marquette and the Lake Superior region.[40] In the Oregon country five years before the first American immigration Father Blanchet arrived and was consecrated archbishop the very year that the Americans got there. When gold was discovered in California, two priests, Fathers Langlois and Brouillet, went from Oregon to San Francisco and the next year Bishop Alemany was consecrated bishop of that See. In 1851 Bishop Miège was consecrated to take care of what was to become Kansas and Nebraska eight years before the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and before John Brown made the Kansas-Nebraska bill a by-word of Civil War history. When Denver began to grow mushroom-like, due to the influx of the "Pike's Peak or Bust" immigrants, Bishop Machebeuf was installed and the cultural influence of the Catholic Church grew with the town.[41] Similarly, on every frontier north, south, east, and west where the Church went with the pioneers, the arts and culture accompanied her religious foundations.

It would seem that enough has been said to show that there is a very important significance of the frontier to the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States. There is much yet to be done in studying the place of the Catholic national groups who broke the wilderness. There is room for much research with regard to

[40] Mazzuchelli, *Memoirs*, 183, 242. Hoffmann, M. M., *The Church Founders of the Northwest*. Verwyst, *Life of Bishop Baraga*.

[41] Howlett, *Life of Bishop Machebeuf*.

the Catholic mission as a frontier institution. And there is an almost limitless field for the endeavor of those who will study the effects of the organized hierarchy upon the pioneer settlements. When this whole story is told, then Turner's Anglo-American backwoodsman will enter into the significance of the frontier only as a rather unimportant factor in the development of American character. Moreover, he will prove to be a very different individual from what Dr. Turner imagined him to be. Far from reverting to near savagery and then evolving into a new kind of superman, it may be shown that the Anglo-American whose life in Protestant New England, New York, Virginia, and the rest of the colonies was characterized by almost primitive simplicity, came out to the frontier, found the Catholic Church spreading her culture, and often profited greatly by the contact.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON

MISCELLANY

The Louvain Concept of a University

When on December 9, 1425, Pope Martin V founded the *Studia Generalia* at Louvain, he described the aim of the new university in the following words: *"Ad querendum ipsius sapientiae alimenta litterarumque studia per que divini nominis et eiusdem fidei cultus protenditur, militantis ecclesiae res publica in spiritualibus et temporalibus cum animarum salute geritur, pax et tranquillitas ubilibet solidantur."* Thus from the time of its foundation the University of Louvain was destined to fulfill a threefold mission: the advancement of science, the education of youth, and the creation of a center of cultural and social influence for the promotion of peace and tranquility, the essential elements of a Christian order.

It is obvious that a university in the true meaning of this word should be primarily a center of scientific research seeking the truth in an unbiased manner. It is significant that the bull of foundation of the University of Louvain contained the words: *"Ad querendum ipsius sapientiae alimenta."* And the University has been carrying out this aim ever since the solemn exercises of inauguration on September 7, 1426. On that day, chosen by the first rector—Neefs or de Neeff—because it was the eve of the feast of Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, to the celebration of which great masses of people always flocked to Louvain, the church of Saint Peter beheld a brilliant gathering of representatives of the hierarchy, envoys of John IV, Duke of Brabant, members of the faculty, students and distinguished guests. It was to this audience that Professor Nicholas Van Proemen addressed his inaugural speech while standing in the shadow of a statue of Mary represented as *Sedes Sapientiae*. From that time on the Blessed Mother as "Seat of Wisdom" has remained both the inspiration and the patron of the University of Louvain.

The outstanding characteristic of true science is that no race, no country, no people nor any particular group of people have a monopoly on it. In other words science is universal. So is the Catholic Church. Thus at Louvain the universality of science is allied to the universality of Faith and through this alliance the university becomes supranational. Close relations betweeen scholars in the field of social sciences and particularly in the branch of historical sciences is absolutely essential. The great Belgian historian, Henri Pirenne, in his inaugural address before the fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences meeting in Brussels in 1923, advocated the comparative method in the following words:

> Prejudices of race, nationality or politics exercise too great an influence on man to permit him to escape them, unless he places himself outside their reach. To do this he must lift himself to the heights from which history appears as a whole in all its majestic development, relegating the passions of the moment to the background of this sublime spectacle. And how can he reach these heights if not by the comparative method? It is the only method which can save the historian from innumerable pitfalls and which can permit him to evaluate to the precise degree of scientific truth the facts under study. By the comparative method alone can history become a science and free itself from the hold of sentiment or emotion. And national history can become a science only when it adopts the point of view of universal history. Then it will become not only more exact, but also more human.

The supranational concept, important as it is in the field of social sciences, is imperative in the domain of positive sciences. The great specialization which prevails there is likely to detract the scholar from the true aim of any science, which is universal and not utilitarian, thus forcing him to substitute the shimmer of immediate reality for the guiding light of eternal truth. A scholar worthy of that name cannot isolate himself in his laboratory or study if he wants to fulfill his mission. So men of science seek each other, establish relations beyond racial, national or political frontiers, and the university of which they are a part and where they carry on their work thus becomes a medium of understanding and peace.

Through the five centuries of its existence the University of Louvain has maintained steadfastly this supranational concept which in no way handicapped its rôle as a national institution. Not only can it count among its scholars men of universal importance such as the great Erasmus of Rotterdam or Adrian of Utrecht—tutor of Charles V and later pope under the name of Adrian VI or Justus Lipsius, or in our own times the great Cardinal Mercier, one of the principal promoters of the "Thomist" revival, but from its beginnings it attracted to its student body representatives of various nations. During the first years of its existence French, Italian, Scottish, Swedish, Portuguese, Swiss, Danish, Spanish, Livonian, and English students swelled the ranks of citizens of Brabant and of other parts of the Low Countries who constituted the bulk of the student body. In later centuries Louvain alumni presented a picture of a veritable League of Nations including citizens of the United States and of various South and Central American countries. And finally, after the World War, a country long conspicuously absent from the roll call at Louvain found itself represented by hundreds of its sons when Cardinal Mercier created a fund for the help of Russian students. Every one of these foreign students, whether in the XVth or the XXth century, carried with him upon leaving his alma mater not only the fruits of scientific endeavor but also a better understanding of the world and a truer conception of

life instilled into him by the faculty under the inspiration of the *Sedes Sapientiae*.

As an institution of learning the University of Louvain is not only a center of scientific research but also one of education. In his address at the beginning of the academic year of 1935-1936, Bishop Ladeuze said: "Although primarily an institution devoted to scientific research, a university is also an institution of instruction. As such it must communicate to its students the ripe fruits of science and train them for scientific production." It is its mission to form good lawyers, good medical doctors, good professors, good engineers,—an elite of good and useful citizens. This function of a university is no less important than the pursuit of pure science. When preparing oneself for a chosen profession the student undertakes to acquire a superior culture, to assume personal initiative in all phases of human activity, to become one of the principal factors in the well-being of a nation. The university must place at the disposal of its students a faculty of superior caliber and methods of instruction of the best possible type so that those who leave its halls after completing their studies can become leaders of their nations, without whom a people or a state falls into decadence.

It is difficult to evaluate fully the University of Louvain as a center for training in the different fields of human endeavor within the scope of a brief study. From the time of its foundation through the addition of a number of special schools, the latest of which is the "Institut Supérieur de Philosophie", Louvain has not only been a leading center in the production of scholars but also in the production of useful citizens. As early as 1521 the great Erasmus stated that at no university, with the exception of that of Paris, "could there be found a greater number of professors well prepared for their tasks." During the great revival of Louvain at the beginning of the XVIIth century, its graduates filled the most important posts in the administration of the Low Countries and aided effectively the sovereigns, Albert and Isabella, not only in the functions of government but also in the great reforms, particularly those concerning the administration of justice, which were undertaken at that time. In the centuries to follow, the university continued to fulfill its rôle as a center of education, of training an elite for leadership, thus contributing in a large measure to the growth and development of the national life of the Belgian people, although never losing sight of its universal aim, never abandoning its supranational concept.

Finally, the University of Louvain has not failed either in its mission as a center of cultural and social influence, assigned to it by the bull of its foundation. In the XVIth century, the first part of which was probably the most glorious period of its existence, the University of Louvain took the lead as a cultural institution. When upon the urging of Erasmus, Jerome Busleiden, liberal mecene from Malines, founded the Collegium

Trilingue, which served as a model to the College de France, the alma mater became the center of great humanistic activities. As the historian Henry Hallam stated: "Rising through the medium of its Collegium Trilingue to a greater height than that occupied by Deventer in the XVth century, Louvain became soon not only the principal center of humanistic studies in Belgium, but also a source from which literary currents spread to different parts of Germany."

During the great upheaval known as the Reformation, Louvain stood firm in the defense of the old religious concepts. Together with that of Cologne, the University of Louvain was the first institution of learning to condemn the teachings of Martin Luther. Its School of Theology, created in 1432 by a bull of Pope Eugene IV, took a firm stand in the religious struggle, which provoked many hatreds but which gave it the title of "citadel of orthodoxy in the Low Countries". This attachment to its Church and to its Faith are synonymous at Louvain with its unflinching attachment to its liberty and academic freedom. When during the reigns of Marie-Thérèse and of Joseph II, these sovereigns attempted to place the University of Louvain under the direct control of the State, the stubborn resistance of its faculty and students contributed in no small measure to the failure of the entire educational program of these "enlightened despots".

When another government, more direct and ruthless, that of Revolutionary France, wanted to impose its own ideology upon the venerable institution, the University of Louvain preferred extinction to the dishonor of worshipping temporary gods. In 1797, after a visit of Benezech, minister of the interior of the Directorate, it became obvious that the end was near. At a faculty meeting, Professor Jean-François Van de Velde, then president of the College du Saint-Esprit, pronounced these moving words: "As we have to perish, let us die on our feet in defense of our holy Faith, of our old customs, of our pious and christian morals. The tomb of our University will be at least embellished by the posthumous glory of not having fallen through its own vileness but having been destroyed by the blows of its enemies who are also the enemies of its Faith."

Thus through the centuries, the University of Louvain has been fulfilling its threefold mission faithful to its universal aim and its supranational concept. One cannot find a better characterization of how well this mission has been carried out than that contained in an address of Cardinal Van Roey, primate of Belgium, made on June 2, 1935, at the celebration of the centenary of its re-establishment: "Heir to the venerable traditions of its glorious predecessor, the University has adapted them to the modern conditions of life and of science. Allying the spirit of novel times to the proved principles of the past, it has fully responded to the necessities and exigencies of the XIXth and XXth centuries without deviating in the least from the path traced by its history. . . . First of all

it has served science well. . . . In fulfilling this task it has reached its secondary aim, religious and national. . . . But this is not all. The University did not limit itself to the pursuit of true science and the propagation of a healthy doctrine; it has also formed an intellectual elite which exercises an inestimable influence in all social groups, from the highest, which cannot deny it their esteem, to the lowest, which follow its example and its leadership."

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

BOOK REVIEWS

The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. From the German of Ludwig, Freiherr von Pastor. Translated by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. Volumes XXVII-XXIX: *Gregory XV and Urban VIII (1621-1644).* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1938. Pp. xxxviii, 336; xv, 504; xv, 606. $15.00.)

Ludwig von Pastor died on September 30, 1928. At that date twelve volumes of his monumental *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* had been published. The thirteenth volume, the eleven hundred pages of which were to appear in two parts, was in press, and Pastor had had time to review the galleys. This volume is now available in English translation, though the less formidable bulk of the English edition entails a substantial increase in the number of volumes. The completed translation will most likely reach a total of forty volumes. For admirers of the great historian, who kept doggedly at his work in spite of age and failing sight, the final personal touch given to the German original imparts an added interest to the translation under review.

Readers, moreover, will feel reassured by the fact that Pastor's manuscript for the whole work was virtually finished when the author died. Several years before his death, he had planned to round out his story up to 1800 in sixteen volumes. The last of these was on the market three years too late for him to enjoy the literary triumph. Future reviewers of the English translation will comment upon a rather bitter controversy occasioned by the German original. Pastor had of course his collaborators during his declining years. But rather intimate contact with the small group who did much of the detail work for him convinced the present reviewer that Pastor maintained a quasi-tyrannical control as long as he lived, and more important, that the controverted chapters of the posthumous volumes were his own work.

The more immediate task of the critic at the moment is to pronounce on the merits and demerits of volumes XXVII-XXIX. And the simplest way to discharge this duty is to pronounce them a worthy continuation of the series. They can, however, be treated as a valuable contribution to the history of the closing years of the Catholic Reform. The vital significance of the two decades between 1623 and 1644 may not at first glance be so evident to the casual reader. In contrast to the stirring events of the sixteenth century this rather quiet *denouement* of the religious upheaval may seem to lack intrinsic interest. The pontiffs, Gregory XV and Urban

VIII are not likely to receive as much attention in general church histories as, for example, Pius V or Sixtus V. But the years in which the European state system was given its modern set, while the papacy was rudely excluded from a voice in diplomacy and world politics were indeed crucial. They mark the passing of the medieval papacy and the dawn of modern secularism. In a real sense, more perhaps than any other similar period, these were the years of Christendom's betrayal.

The narrative centers around two great popes. But one lays down the volumes with a feeling that the dominant figure throughout the story was neither Gregory nor Urban, but the great cardinal who broke the power of the Habsburgs and sacrificed the Church to make his king absolute master of France and France the arbiter of Europe. Others have admired Richelieu, and few have doubted his genius. But in the dispassionate account of Pastor he stands forth as the villain of the drama. If there is some extenuation for his masterful intriguing, the arguments in his favor will be effective only among those who already accept the perverted political system which he saddled upon Europe. Richelieu was, to be sure, the builder of a greater France. And he hoped no doubt that his creation would champion the Catholic cause. But it is as the savior of Protestantism that he casts his dark shadow across the pontificate of Urban VIII.

Although Pastor's treatment of the Thirty Years War is merely incidental, as it were, to his main theme, yet it looms so large that students will here find the equivalent of a monograph on this topic which they cannot afford to neglect. Moreover, the sources from which Pastor drew his data impart to his account a touch of novelty. The fact that he is chiefly intent upon portraying the part played by the pope, a very correct part be it noted, in no way lessens the value of his comment on Richelieu.

In the person of Richelieu, if we may quote a few strong phrases from Pastor's introduction, to Volume XXVII "one of the most ominous figures of modern history makes its appearance upon the stage of the world. In his ardent patriotism and insatiable ambition Richelieu shrank from no means. . . . The Machiavellian guide of France's fortunes, who rejected no means however reprehensible, was determined to sacrifice the highest interests of the Church to the momentary advantages of his country" (p. 18). Leaning rather heavily on German authorities, Pastor maintains: "The statesman in Richelieu was stronger than the priest." And in another footnote he quotes to the effect that the war, begun with mixed motives on either side, "transformed itself into a struggle of European high politics on the grandest scale" (p. 23). Pastor sums up the case against the French cardinal. The historic rôle, he tells us, which made the Holy See "a unifying centre for the nations, not only in moral and religious questions, but also in political and diplomatic ones . . . was finally upset by the clever and crafty statesman who made of France the leading European power and

the seat of absolutism . . . henceforth purely secular considerations were to inspire the policy of the other great Catholic Powers" (pp. 27, 28).

It may appear that the reviewer has given too much space to Pastor's estimate of Richelieu which, after all, is not widely different from the accepted view. The reviewer's only defense is that such are his most vivid impressions after reading the three volumes. It should be noted, however, that Pastor shows no inclination to spare the Spanish Habsburgs when they subordinate religion to the political interests of Spain. One valid objection against this, as against most histories of the popes (or of the Church), is that they emphasize what the popes endure rather than what they do. Still, we readily confess a preference for the discussion of world affairs over the routine happenings of the papal household and the ambitions, grandiose or petty, of papal nephews.

The outstanding single event of an ecclesiastical character in the period here covered was the founding of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. When in 1622, Gregory XV created a sort of ministry to control and direct every detail of mission activity few observers saw in the new foundation the revolution that it was. The new congregation met with obstacles on all sides, and its record for two centuries is really not a very impressive one. None the less, just at the time when Rome was being elbowed out of secularized politics, Rome was preparing the way to shake off dependence on the great colonial powers in the work of spreading the gospel. Divine Providence uses human instruments which rarely function perfectly. The Propaganda's personnel was open to criticism, especially in the person of its first secretary. Pastor sees only the feverish activity displayed by Monsignor Ingoli, and charitably draws the veil over his mean-spirited opposition to undertakings which he should have aided. If Pastor actually read the sources he cites, he knew more than he cared to tell. We have in mind chiefly the trials of Mary Ward, many of which can be traced to the meddling secretary of the Propaganda.

When a reviewer calls attention to slight blemishes of style or minor inaccuracies, there is often suspicion that he merely wants to furnish evidence of his having read the book. We do not like the translator's rather frequent misuse of the adverb, "only"; we do not know what is meant by the term, "Parliament," when applied to French affairs; "vicereine" and "abbate" have a strange ring in an English text; in one or two instances dates are a bit mystifying, e. g. on page 2 of volume XXIX. We feel the pettiness of referring to these minor defects.

Of the two pontificates whose history is narrated in these volumes, that of Gregory XV was among the shortest in modern times, that of Urban VIII among the longest. This time element accounts for the fact that there is so much less to find fault with under Gregory. But we agree with Pastor when he says: "Never, perhaps, has so short a pontificate left such deep marks in history." This he accounts for largely by the perfect team-work

of the pope and his cardinal nephew, Ludovisi. The excessive wealth which the nephew drew from ecclesiastical benefices would seem to be a blot on the reputation of his uncle. But the excellent use to which he invariably put his revenues is at least a partial justification for nepotism.

Among the topics of secondary importance upon which the student will find light in these volumes are the Galileo case, Jansenism, the pioneer efforts of Mary Ward, the Caesaro-papism of the Spanish kings, and the artistic creations of Bernini. Needless to insist, any bibliography of seventeenth century history will be incomplete without Pastor.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN

St. Louis University

The Vatican as a World Power. By JOSEPH BERNHART. Translated by George N. Shuster. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. Pp. viii, 456. $4.00.)

It is an exceedingly difficult task to compress the story of St. Peter and his 261 successors within the compass of a volume of this size without it becoming a mere catalog of names. That difficulty Dr. Bernhart has overcome with genuine skill. The reviewer who wishes to place a book in its proper category for readers encounters here a real obstacle. It is not a history of the papacy as an institution; it is not a history of the popes. The nearest approach would probably be to describe it as an extended essay on the outstanding personalities among the popes and the direction which their policies gave to papal power. The title of the volume would be much more truly descriptive of the contents if the word 'European' were substituted for 'world'. The American reader may be pardoned this observation when he finds the United States dispatched in a single paragraph (p. 353).

The jacket assures the prospective purchaser that Dr. Bernhart is a "trained theologian". But the majority of trained theologians will demand evidence from the author for the statement that Innocent III permitted baptism of Mohammedans with several wives who might "keep them in accordance with the custom of the Patriarchs when they become Christians" (p. 172). Nor will the theologians accept on Dr. Bernhart's mere statement that the same pope ever permitted "Viaticum" to be given to dead persons in England during the interdict of 1208 (p. 172). Students of the primacy of the Roman See will be puzzled by the characterization of St. Paul as the one, "who had taken the Primacy from Jerusalem and given it to Rome" (p. 19).

A work of this kind not infrequently lays itself open to the charge of improper emphasis and facile generalization. Dr. Bernhart's volume is no exception. The reader may legitimately ask why St. Ignatius should merit ten pages of comment (pp. 262-272), St. Bernard of Clairvaux

five (pp. 148-153)—albeit they are very well done, especially the latter —and St. Thomas Aquinas earn but one sentence in a direct reference to the great philosopher (p. 178). It is too sweeping to thrust all the popes from Nicholas V to Adrian VI under the characterization that "hardly one among (them) . . . can be recognized as a religious figure" (p. 227). Likewise the statement that among the ten popes reigning between the death of Innocent X in 1655 and the election of Benedict XIV in 1740 "no man of exceptional endowments occupied the See of Peter" (p. 299) would need qualification.

The work of Dr. Bernhart is highly readable and therefore presumably it will enjoy a wide circulation. For that very reason it is unfortunate that the book abounds in errors—some obviously mere printer's slips, others errors in fact. Among the latter the following should be noted. It is surely premature to speak of St. Boniface as having "welded together the peoples that spoke the German language in national unity" (p. 79). Ostia was never an 'archbishopric' (p. 119); it is not accurate to speak of the Emperor Henry IV in the 11th century trying to forestall the verdict of 'Parliament' (p. 132); all would not concur in the opinion that Gregory VII was the 'greatest' pontiff (p. 135); King John of England never 'signed' *Magna Charta* (p. 174) it is an anachronism to speak of a 'king of Germany' in the 14th century (p. 201) in the same sense that it is inaccurate to refer to 'Anglicanism' in the early 15th century (p. 216). No one will deny the importance of Constance as an imperial city in the days of the council but it can hardly be called the "principal city of Europe" (p. 219). Scholars have long since ceased crediting Lorenzo Valla with the original proof of the forgeries connected with the Donation of Constantine (p. 230); the Golden Bull of Charles IV was issued in 1356, not '1355' (p. 210) just as the Concordat of Bologna was drawn up in 1516, not '1517' (p. 244). The *Syllabus* of Pius IX contained eighty not 'sixty' propositions (p. 364). It seems idle to be laboring the point of the possibility of the election of a layman to the papal throne (pp. 390, 403) when no one but a member of the Sacred College has been elected in centuries, and Canon 232 of the new Code specifically states the cardinals must be "*viri saltem in ordine presbyteratus constituti*". The myth of the use of the hammer upon a dead pope to insure that he is really dead dies hard; it is repeated here by Bernhart (p. 398). 'All' the national colleges in Rome are not controlled by the Jesuits (p. 422)—the Canadian College is under the supervision of the Sulpicians and the North American College of the secular clergy to mention two exceptions. These are a sampling of the statements—some of them important, others not—in which the author displays a lack of exactness and accuracy. More could be mentioned if space permitted, statements which are not so much downright errors of fact as misleading inferences such as the references to the slyness and political expediency of the Jesuits

which may be illustrated by the example of the condemnation of the Jansenist propositions contained in the bull *Unigenitus* of 1713. Dr. Bernhart says it was issued at Louis XIV's request "with the connivance of the Jesuits" (p. 307).

The author's mind on some of the controversial problems of the church historian is seen in his severity in dealing with the Inquisition (p. 187); his sympathetic picture of Savonarola (pp. 239-241), and his letting the Jansenists off a bit more easily than the Jesuits in the famous 17th century quarrel (pp. 304-308).

The following typographical errors should be corrected if this book goes through a second edition as it is likely to do. The reader should substitute John 'IV' for 'V' (p. 98); read 'John' for 'Benedict' in the sixth line from the bottom of p. 105; 'intimidated' for 'intimated' (p. 173); 'of' for 'or' in the second line from the bottom of p. 200; 'excuse' for 'excure' in the 4th line from the top (p. 244); Gregory 'XIII' for 'III' in the sixth line from the bottom (p. 235). Is not the correct spelling of the early Jesuits 'Lainez' and 'Bobadilla' rather than 'Lianez' and 'Boabdilla' (p. 267)? Pius VI died in '1799', not '1779' (p. 319); it was the 'Princess' Gallitzin, not 'Prince' (p. 350); read '1753' for '1573' at the bottom of p. 419; in line 14 of p. 439 read 'of' for 'to'.

The work has an adequate index, a chronological list of the popes, but no bibliography or citation of sources.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

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Medieval Panorama, The English Scene from Conquest to Reformation. By G. G. COULTON. (Cambridge, England: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xiv, 801. $4.00.)

"There is little here" says Mr. Coulton in his Preface, "which I have not said already before widely different audiences during the past thirty years." Much indeed can be found in his *Five Centuries of Religion, The Medieval Village, Scottish Abbeys* and the other works that have come from his facile pen.

He has tried to weave a "historical tapestry", and to present a panorama that is "picturesque, yet reasonably accurate"; and he hopes that it is the sort of "scaffolding which the author would have been very glad to find before him fifty years ago." To that end he has included chapters on "Popes and Prelates," "Dante's Commedia," "The Royal Court," "The Ghetto," "Medicine," "Sports and Theatre," "Freethought and Inquisition," and has generally tried to cover every phase of medieval life.

Whether we regard the author as an historian or as a controversialist we have to concede that he has a wide range of knowledge, that he has an

enviable familiarity with printed and unprinted documents, and that he has a style of writing that arrests the attention of his reader even, on occasions, to the point of deep emotion. He also has his limitations.

On the appearance of *Five Centuries of Religion* Professor F. W. Powicke criticised his historical method in *History* (January, 1924, pp. 256-268). Much of what Professor Powicke then wrote is applicable to the work now under review. There is still that "uneasy atmosphere of overwrought emotion;" he still sweeps aside the ordinary regard for chronology displayed by other historians, picking an incident from one century to illustrate a point about another or merely to make interesting an otherwise colorless statement; and we can find here too those same "irrelevant discussions" and "much rhetoric".

The sub-title of the book is particularly misleading to those unfamiliar with the other books of Mr. Coulton. He ranges freely all over Europe and up and down the centuries, picking out parallels, choosing illustrations from here, there and everywhere which may have nothing at all to do with the English scene. Worse than this he constantly projects the present into the past in a most disconcerting way. Finding it difficult to explain, for instance, divergences between practice and precept in medieval times he condemns the authoritarian regime of the Church as "one of the completest examples of a Totalitarian State that history records". For the ends of this Totalitarian State he finds that "almost all means were justified; almost all were employed" (p. 5). Thus with a stroke of the pen he puts the medieval Church in the same class with Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia at the very outset of his book, a step not designed to build up a friendly interest in the subject he is about to discuss.

One of the means he particularly castigates is the inculcation in the minds of the credulous of the fear of hell. "Disciplinarians" he believes, "were driven into the conviction that the large majority of mankind must go to hell" (p. 17). Church decoration as a result often portrayed the last judgment (p. 165). It is true of course that many churches contained such pictures which doubtless had an effect on the minds of sinners. True too that those whose duty it was to lead men to paths of righteousness sometimes despaired of achieving the millennium. But Mr. Coulton builds up too much on this. After all the very churches in which those paintings appeared were in themselves things of beauty, inspired in their construction by something loftier than fear and containing other representations of such subjects as the Persons of the Trinity, the saints and pleasant scenes from both Old and New Testaments.

Another of these means employed by the totalitarian medieval Church was repression of the thirst for learning. To substantiate this he cites the well-known letter of Pope Gregory I to Desiderius, bishop of Vienna (p. 25). Yet as Professor Edward K. Rand pointed out in his *Founders of the Middle Ages* (pp. 25-28) Gregory has had his apologists in this

matter, there is nothing in the letter to offend the purist—indeed, it employs at least one rhetorical device, the use of metrical *clausulae*,—and Gregory had a modern program of education. Further Mr. Coulton repeats the tradition recorded by John of Salisbury that Gregory "burned the Palatine Library as a hindrance to Bible studies," admits that there is no real evidence for this, and then concludes that nevertheless the legend is significant. This is hardly the correct procedure for a reputable historian.

Nor was repression confined to learning. To Guibert of Nogent, he says, the name of free borough was "new and abominable" (p. 655). Mr. Coulton is not the only historian who has quoted this well-worn statement but Fr. Funck-Brentano in *The Middle Ages* (p. 149) says that one must ask whether the "word execrable . . . is not an interpolation; for its sense is quite contrary to the context, opposed above all to the spirit which inspires the work of Guibert de Nogent." Guibert even warned Bishop Gaudry of the danger he was running in opposing the "free borough".

The break-up of this medieval totalitarianism resulted, in Mr. Coulton's estimation, in increased prosperity for the poor. Since the Reformation, he says, "the English poor have suffered less, on the whole, than those of France and Austria and Italy and Spain." This is a sweeping statement and one that is highly debatable, especially when we consider the philosophy of the Manchester School, the complaints of the Chartists and the appeal that the various brands of socialism has had in comparatively recent times. In this connection too we have the strange argument that increased population since the sixteenth century is an indication of increased prosperity. But density of population is no certain index of prosperity in modern times. One has but to consider the condition of the teeming millions of Asia to realise this.

His indictment of medieval man's repugnance for the delights of nature (p. 104) ably supported by references to Dante, Chaucer, and other writers, ignores one of the oldest poems in the English language, "Sumer is icumen in". Indeed the first four poems in the *Oxford Book of English Verse* are all primarily concerned with nature; all save the Cuckoo Song (c. 1250) were written about 1300. He even unconsciously refutes his own argument by a criticism of *Piers Plowman* (p. 537) and by quotations from the *Parlement of the Three Ages* (p. 595). Even if Gothic architecture did not owe its inspiration to the trees of the forest it was sufficiently decorated with representations of natural objects to convince any modern observer that medieval man took more than a passing interest in nature.

Despite these faults the book makes interesting reading. It has been suggested that by dividing the work into fifty-two chapters Mr. Coulton intended his readers possibly to spend one week on each chapter for a complete year and one could do worse than spend a week on such chapters as those on "Feudalism" (V and VI) "Dante's *Commedia*" (XVIII) and

some others. Throughout the author has made skilful use of medieval poets and the episcopal registers. There are copious notes and references at the back of the book, especially to controversial matters, and there are some excellent illustrations. It is, however, a book for the expert rather than for the general reader. As Professor Powicke said of the *Five Centuries of Religion* its "manifest erudition and transparent sincerity" may lead the unwary reader to accept the work without reservation. It is the hope of this reviewer that he has not merited the awful reward threatened in the quotation at the head of the Preface that "He that contemneth small things shall fall little by little".

HERBERT H. COULSON

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Anselm von Canterbury (1033-1109). Sein Leben, seine Bedeutung, seine Hauptwerke. VON ANSELM STOLZ. (München: Verlag Kösel-Pustet. 1937. Pp. 336. Rm. 6.80.)

Martin Deutinger (1815-1886). Gestalt und Beurteilung, Lebenswerk, Ernte und Erbe. VON HEINRICH FELS. (München: Verlag Kösel-Pustet. 1938. Pp. 320. Rm. 6.80.)

Johannes von Ruysbroeck der Wunderbare (1293-1381). Einführung in sein Leben; Auswahl aus seinen Werken. VON JOSEPH KUCKHOFF. (München: Verlag Kösel-Pustet. 1938. Pp. 320. Rm. 6.80.)

For practical reasons the present reviewer prefers to treat first, and at some length, of the volume mentioned in the third place. John of Ruysbroeck spent the first twenty-five years of his priestly life as a pious zealous clergyman, given to studies of the works of St. Augustine, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, but early launching forth in the combat against the heretics of his time, and notwithstanding these endeavors practicing the devotions of a professional mystic. Mysticism indeed is the general character of his numerous writings. But it is a mysticism which, though soaring up to the highest heaven, never loses sight of the practical duties of the ordinary Christian life. The author does not want to hear of those who claim that their union with God does not permit them to assist their fellow-men. Such characters, he thinks, must be guarded against. When about fifty years old he joined with a number of similarly minded friends in a sort of religious order. If we remember that Gerard Groote, who is in such close connection with the *Imitation of Christ* (to say no more), looked upon Ruysbroeck as his master and guide, it is not surprising that Ruysbroeck's spiritual advice so frequently reminds us of that golden little book.

John of Ruysbroeck lived in a time when the moral standard of the secular and religious clergy was very low in wide circles, and in his spirit-

ual writings he finds opportunities to inveigh mercilessly against clerical laxity and immorality. But in the annals of Christian piety he figures as a great mystic, whose influence reached from the Netherlands through Cologne and Mainz to the Alps. His often mysterious way of writing caused him to be accused of heresy, even after his death, by no less a man than the great Paris chancellor, John Gerson. The process of his beatification, several times interrupted, was concluded in 1909.

This work on John of Ruysbroeck is Volume III of a series of similar productions on individual personages whose life has been of deep and lasting influence in the history of the Church. The series is entitled: *Gestalten des christlichen Abendlandes.* Each volume, independent in itself, is an edition (in German) of some of the most characteristic writings of one of the most prominent leaders in the realm of piety and intellectual life of the Church, so selected as to give to the reader a picture of the world of ideas which animated the writer and which he made it his life work to propagate. A short introduction, roughly one eighth of the whole work, acquaints the reader with the life of the author and, if necessary, with the linguistic peculiarities to be met with in his writings. These volumes therefore do not compete with regular biographies because they lay all the stress on the writings, their character and their influence on contemporaries and posterity. Each book is concluded by a summarizing chapter which briefly points out the several features of the writer's activity and of the lasting effect which his life work brought about in the development of Catholic life and science. The publishers give it as their aim that every volume is to be a thorough genuinely scientific production, though clad in easy and popular language, a goal which, in these three contributions at any rate, they have reached. There is every reason to hope that the promising series will place before its readers many equally instructive and interesting *Gestalten des christlichen Abendlandes.*

The series is opened by the great, sweet and unconquerable Primate of England, St. Anselm, whose works are leading over to the new period of Scholasticism. Translations are given of *Proslogion, Monologion,* and *Cur Deus Homo.* The conclusion is a selection of three meditations and a number of prayers, all full of deep and fervid devotion, true models of the colloquies recommended by St. Ignatius to be used in the course and at the end of meditations.

Volume II of the series introduces Martin Deutinger (1815-1886), one of the most influential Catholic theologians of Germany during the nineteenth Century, whose aim was the harmonizing of Catholic theology with genuine cultural progress and the reconquest of the field of art for Catholic ideals.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN

Marquette University

The Last Invasion of Ireland When Connacht Rose. By RICHARD HAYES. (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1937. Pp. xxvi, 341. 15s.)

Dr. Richard Hayes has contributed several studies to the history of Franco-Irish relations in the era of the French Revolution. The present undertaking is one of the most ambitious of these—to tell the story of the invasion of Ireland in August, 1798, by 1000 French republican troops under the command of General Humbert. As a part of the great European struggle then in progress this invasion was little more than a petty raid, but in the history of Ireland its surprising initial success, the consternation which it threw into the British military machine, and the confirmation which it gave to the rule of fear and hate already well established in earlier months of '98, had results of both immediate and far-reaching importance. Yet, as the author remarks, it is one of the episodes of Ireland's history that hitherto have not received the attention which their interest and significance demand. Moreover—and this, we may believe, had its bearing on the writing of our book—Humbert's campaign and the Irish insurrection in the West possess the elements for a great *chanson de geste.* "Its full story, indeed, is one of high adventure, with not a few epic qualities, from its opening in revolutionary France to its close in the wilds of Erris and Tirawley with the keening of women for their dead."

The tale is well told. The combination of dramatic unity with local color, personal and topographical, is well effected. Dr. Hayes has studied carefully the somewhat meagre contemporary records, Irish, English and French; he has himself visited the whole terrain of the campaign, and the personal knowledge thus acquired adds not only to the vividness of the narrative but also to its usefulness as a historical study; and he has with assiduous care collected local reminiscences, traditions, folk lore and folk songs, and traced down what can still be learned regarding the leading actors. It is unfortunate that this has been done at so late a date. As the author says: "Though *bliadhain na bhFranncach* (the year of the French) is still among the living traditions of the West, I had not proceeded far till the realisation came that I was a little late. And I could not help often thinking of the rich harvest that might have been garnered a generation or two ago when men were still alive who saw the soldiers of France march through Connacht and heard their drums beating along its roads."

Partly because Madden's *Lives of the United Irishmen* is quite incomplete as regards the leaders in Connacht, Dr. Hayes has given particular attention to supplementing it by including, chiefly in the appendices, as much biographical information as he could gather.

The book is, then, an important contribution to Irish history. For the serious student, however, it could have been made more helpful. The technique is more that of the journalist than of the historian. There is

no bibliography, and no incidental mention of some works which, even though not of the first merit, should be known to research workers—as, for example, Guillon's *La France et l'Irlande sous le Directoire*. There is a want of that precision of reference which is essential in scholarly studies. The student who wishes to follow up, for any purpose, a clue given here will usually find his direction, if any, for the location of a contemporary manuscript source to be "the Irish State Paper Office", "the manuscripts of the British Museum", the "*Archives de la Guerre*". The index is fairly helpful but has amateurish features—as "After the Disaster," etc.; "Last Stand at Killalla"; "Strange Accounts", etc.; "The French Land", etc. (and other similar entries under T); "Vivid Account", etc.

The illustrations include a map of the route of Humbert's army and one of Castlebar, and facsimiles of three contemporary documents and one print. Further maps might have been included to advantage, especially one of Ballinamuck and its neighborhood, where Humbert's march ended.

JAMES F. KENNEY

Public Archives of Canada

Everyman His Own Historian. Essays on History and Politics. By CARL L. BECKER. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1935. Pp. 325. $2.50.)

Old and New. Thoughts on the Modern Study of History. By F. S. MARVIN. (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1935. Pp. 219. 4/6.)

It would be a rare experience to hear a discussion between Professor Becker and Mr. Christopher Dawson: two eminent scholars who are almost as much philosophers as historians; whose analytical and reasoning powers are of the first order; who are alike sincere, courageous, tolerant and humane; but who are separated by that chasm which has lain for centuries between the skeptic and the Christian. Distinguished as is every essay in Dr. Becker's book (all of them save one reprints), the whole is greater than the mere sum of the parts. For the whole is the voice of contemporary secularism at its best, elucidating and interpreting many of the currents of thought and action at work in the western world during the last two centuries. "It was by taking thought that man differentiated himself from the beasts. . . . What more he may achieve can be achieved . . . only by taking still more thought." And thought of the Becker quality pierces through many illusions especially dear to many less gifted secularists. "The impregnable strength of nineteenth century liberalism was chiefly in this, that it . . . made liberty useful by setting it up in business, and sanctified competition by anointing it with the incense of human freedom." "Human nature has not changed under democracy. . . . The modern courtier stands not in the antechamber holding the king's shirt, but . . . he makes his obeisance to the great god Demos,

and presents him an umbrella or a wet nurse." The Marxians suggest "abolishing oppression by oppressing oppressors"; but "all the great and permanently valuable achievements of civilization have been won by the free play of intelligence in opposition to, or in spite of, the pressure of mass emotion and the effort of organized authority to enforce conformity in conduct and opinion." Alas for the liberals of today! "Having been long enamored of both liberty and equality, . . . we cannot choose liberty without denouncing the drastic methods now being taken to obtain equality, or choose equality without betraying liberty." It was inevitable that Dr. Becker's philosophy should make his analysis a rather dreary one; but it is contained in an anything but dreary book. For Professor Becker's justice is tempered by mercy for almost everything but sham, his most solemn periods often lightened by playful imagination and invincible humor. In the opening group of Essays on "Liberty and Equality," where his philosophy is most explicitly set forth, he bids us gaze on Ramsay MacDonald, standing "in splendid isolation, discreetly holding a faded socialist flag and courageously leading a conservative House of Commons." In the second group, on "History and Historians," he brings out the very best (and to some of us, perhaps, a trifle more) in men so different from one another and from himself as Henry Adams and H. G. Wells; and offers a tribute to his great teacher, Frederick Jackson Turner, which is unlikely to be surpassed by anything of its kind. The four "Interpretations" with which the book closes—of Juliette Drouet, Madame Roland. Peter Van Schaak and Diderot—offer further glimpses of all his powers, but especially of his amazing gift of getting inside persons and groups of persons of the most diverse types. Yet there is one great type with which he does not deal—the persons and groups whose thought is strongly and consciously rooted in Christianity. In this omission, whether intentional or otherwise, he seems to fail in justice to himself. Surely such understanding as his could bridge the chasm.

To pass from Dr. Becker's book to Dr. Marvin's is a little like going from an arena into a comfortably furnished and rather Victorian drawing room. Dr. Marvin draws upon the reading and reflections of many years to offer the "general reader" an outline account of man's progress. Finding "sound moral and educational value in the dictum, 'Think only of the past as its remembrance gives you pleasure,'" he is mainly concerned with the advance that can be noted in the "technique for human co-operation," and in the "knowledge and use of the external world." "Man's life," we read, is "capable of being traced back in all its particulars" to even "the humblest" of the "lower creatures"; and the "growth of mind, or soul, is the core of history." Hence we are led from "The Dawn of Conscience" (with full acknowledgments to Professor Breasted) down to the benefits conferred on civilization in quite recent times by the "Expansion of the West," and "England's [very special] Part." The

world is still on its way to "Freedom and Unity"; and religion—which, for the author's purposes, consists in "ardent, self-compelling strivings . . . for a better life on earth"—allows us to take "Hope" for our watchword. As one rambles through this pleasantly discursive book, one is not infrequently brought up short by quite unusual statements. It seems, for example, that "the tempest of free will and determinism" is stilled by the conviction that "the present must be explained as . . . the offspring of the past"; that Queen Elizabeth "stands forever beside Shakespeare as the two most distinguished figures in the evolution of England's part in world affairs"; that "science . . . is a grand stabilizer and organizer of society"; and that "the methods of the League [of Nations] no doubt . . . will shortly prevail." On the other hand, the book is obviously the fruit of wide reading, much thought, exceptionally broad sympathies, and considerable insight. Thus Dr. Marvin is enabled to point out that the conception of a love permeating and linking all things, "and leading from the human to the divine, is the immortal triumph of the Catholic system."

HERBERT C. F. BELL

Wesleyan University

The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education. The Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum. By ALLAN P. FARRELL, S.J., Ph.D. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. 478. $4.75.)

The fundamental reconsiderations of the problems of general education which are being made these days by those concerned with the lower levels of collegiate and the upper levels of secondary education have so far shown scant attention to the contributions of previous educators to these problems. For instance, the thirty-eighth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, published in 1939, gives no indication that there might be an historical background to its subject, *General Education in the American College*. In the volume under review, Dr. Farrell's study of the genesis and development of the *Ratio Studiorum*, we have an instance of precisely the sort of thing that framers of educational credos for general education could study with profit to their historical perspectives.

After a succinct summary of the founding of the Jesuits and the series of events which brought about St. Ignatius' interest in educational problems, Father Farrell develops in a number of chapters the inception of the original studies at Messina, the founding and important role played by the Roman College (which almost at once became a sort of teachers college, or better, an *école normale superieure*), the development of Jesuit schools throughout Italy, Spain, and Portugal. He restudies the role of St. Ignatius in superintending these colleges and supervising with his own peculiar care even the smallest details which were of importance to their growth. After Ignatius, he restores to proper educational distinction the

names of Jerome Nadal, who did so much in the development of the curriculum of the early colleges, and James Ledesma, who wrote so understandingly of the problems of method in the teaching of that day. The ideas of these three men, above all others, were the ideas which had their fruit in the *Ratio* when it finally came to be written.

The second part of this book deals with the codification of the materials, beginning with the first *Ratio* of 1586 and the reactions of the various provinces, the first revision of 1591 and the results of the operation in the colleges, and finally the revision of 1599, which remains one of the most important documents in the history of education—not only because of its wide influence on educational practice during the two centuries or so that followed its publication, but also because of its meaningful analyses of educational problems which are still fundamental today.

A final section deals with the revision of 1832 and attempts to relate the content of the *Ratio*, its stress on pedagogical first principles, and its meaning and message, to the educational problems generated in the field of what is now commonly called general education. Apparently the *Ratio* supports the position of today's junior college as formative rather than factual.

Dr. Farrell brings out the importance of the order and method of the University of Paris, Ignatius' own alma mater, in the early colleges. Its importance may be gauged by his frequent use of the phrase *Ratio Studiorum Parisiensis*. At the time of the founding of the first Jesuit colleges, the University of Paris was far and away the finest school of humanities. Nevertheless, the Jesuit imitation of the program at Paris was not slavish. "The curriculum was humanistic, the method and order principally Parisian, and the spirit Ignatian," is Father Farrell's summary. The extent to which this Ignatian spirit went beyond the Paris original is indicated by the popularity of the College of Clermont only a few years later.

The success of the Jesuit colleges in the early years is testimony of the remarkable efficiency with which the Jesuits taught the classical literatures and the other humanistic disciplines. The European world was evidently only too ready for a real educational reform. Yet a good deal of the Jesuit success must also be laid to their strong emphasis on learning *and* virtue—and integrated.

Dr. Farrell disposes of certain criticisms commonly made in histories of education. That the Jesuits taught only Latin and Greek well he refutes by citing the actual instructional materials, and giving evidence of the early stress on logic, physics, mathematics, and ethics.

The volume has a number of photostatic facsimiles of some of the manuscript materials, and translations of these pages are given. Appendices contain a list of the colleges to which extern students were admitted during the lifetime of Ignatius, the history of free tuition in Jesuit schools, and

a discussion of the development of the Latin grammar of Alvarez, which should be of interest to historians of the curriculum. The book is handsomely printed and bound and has an adequate index.

WALTER L. WILKINS

Springfield Junior College

Sir William Trumbull in Paris, 1685-1686. By RUTH CLARK. (Cambridge: at The University Press, New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xi, 168 + 63. $3.50.)

Sir William Trumbull reluctantly accepted on September 12, 1685, his appointment as envoy extraordinary to the court of Louis XIV. Before he arrived in France on November 17, the Edict of Nantes had been revoked. His embassy was accordingly not an easy one, and it also proved short. He left Paris in October, 1686.

This embassy reveals neither the Sir William who encouraged Dryden in translating the *Æneid* and Pope to translate the *Iliad*, nor the man about whom Pepys wrote: "a man of the meanest mind as to courage that ever was born." He carried out his instructions regarding the principality of Orange, the admission of English consuls in France, the protection of English merchants and trade, with persistence, caution, and zeal. A Protestant, beseeched by others, he used the same characteristics in audiences with M. de Choissy regarding the application of the Revocation to Englishmen who had French wives, the English wives of French subjects, and naturalized Frenchmen who wished to surrender their papers and return to England. It was the handling of such cases that caused the displeasure of Louis XIV and the shortness of Sir William's stay in France. His persistence was so irritating that as early as January 17, just two months after his arrival at Dieppe, M. de Choissy was hinting to Barrillon, the French ambassador in London, a more agreeable envoy, might be sent. Even the Marquis of Halifax, a friend, wrote: "I cannot but wonder that after the friendly advice I gave . . . you should be such a bungler as to be in the right and such a novice as to follow your instructions" (p. 106).

Miss Clark's book is a scholarly one. After a brief, adequate chapter of biographical data and another about Sir William's preparations, Miss Clark uses twelve chapters for the embassy. She shares just about equally the burden of the narrative with him and his contemporaries by using many quotations from them. Eighty-three of his ninety-seven letters preserved in the Record Office are quoted either in the text or in the notes at the end of the book. The greater number of such quotations is set apart in nine-point type. Miss Clark has wisely distinguished between extracts for the main account and information for Notes on the affairs of the Palatinate, Notes on Lorraine, Notes on the Waldensians in 1686, which are given separately as appendices although not so named. Other supplementary material includes his instructions; credentials; bills of extra-

ordinaries; relations with Bayle, two memorials regarding the principality of Orange; memorials in behalf of English merchants, in behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, and about the confiscation of certain ships. The footnotes show great care; they identify persons mentioned in the quotations, give other additional information, or state the sources. A bibliography and a good index complete the book.

While Miss Clark shows ability to write pleasantly and to summarize effectively, the advisability of adhering to chronology at the expense of topical sequence and smooth transitions (pp. 35, 53, 107, 115) is questioned. The interspersing of comments in Sir William's quotations (pp. 49, 128) is unnecessary.

MARY LUCILLE SHAY

University of Illinois

Maximilien Robspierre: Nationalist Dictator. By JAMES MICHAEL EAGAN, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the College of New Rochelle. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 242. $2.75.)

Professional historians have inherited from their nineteenth-century predecessors a feeling that comparisons in history, if not odious, are at least dangerous—so dangerous that they had best be avoided as much as possible. In practice of course even the most devoted adherent of "scientific" or "objective" history was willing to recognize that the men and events with which he dealt were not absolutely unique, but he sometimes talked and wrote as if the attempt to discern uniformities in history were a sort of wild-goose chase best left to the undisciplined minds of philosophers and sociologists. We historians are nowadays rather less chary in the search for uniformities than were our immediate predecessors, but we are still pretty cautious about explicit parallels. Dr. Eagan therefore has in this study of Roberspierre given proof of more than ordinary courage. His is no timid suggestion that Robespierre's career resembles in some ways the careers of other leaders in other revolutions. He has throughout his book drawn a series of parallels between this "first nationalist dictator" and our contemporary dictators, Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin, between the Jacobin Clubs and the groups which have made "one party states" in Italy, Germany, and Russia, between the governmental methods of the acknowledged dictatorship of the *gouvernement révolutionnaire* during the Reign of Terror and those of current totalitarian dictatorships.

Let there be no mistake: even though one may object to these parallels with modern instances, there is left in Dr. Eagan's book a very succinct and useful account of Robespierre's political methods and ideas. There are many biographies of Robespierre, including two recent studies, one by Mr. J. M. Thompson, the other by Mr. Somerset Ward, which admirably supplement one another. Dr. Eagan has wisely left narration and psychological analysis to others, and has concentrated on the part played

by Robespierre in the political processes of the French Revolution. The result is a sort of compendium of methods of revolutionary agitation, propaganda, organization of pressure-groups, purges, cult-making, and so on. Even from the point of view of the orthodox historian, Dr. Eagan's use of sources, his method of assembling his material, is wholly satisfactory. His chapter on "The Formation of Jacobin Opinion" rests in large part on unprinted sources, and forms a definite addition to our knowledge of the facts. He has had recourse to most of the important monographs. Ording's *Le bureau de police du comité de salut public* might have extended his paragraphs on Robespierre's police methods; but such omissions are few and unimportant. On the whole, this little book is an exceedingly valuable source of information of the kind we are all very interested in today. It is a tribute to Dr. Eagan's faithfulness to his profession that even those who disagree with his parallel between Robespierre and our modern dictators can quarry successfully in his monograph.

This reviewer is inclined to accept most of Dr. Eagan's parallels, and to find them valid uniformities of the kind it is useful to look for in history. Dr. Eagan in his text is invariably more subtle, more aware of the complexities of a concrete situation than he is in his chapter headings, which in such phrases as "Towards the Totalitarian State" and "The Jacobin Blood Purge" are perhaps better journalism than history. He knows well for instance that Robespierre never had anything like complete control over the Committee of Public Safety, that even as a dictatorship in commission, the Jacobin rule was irregular, inefficient, and very far from measuring up to the implications of the word "totalitarian". He knows that Robespierre, skilled though he was in the ways of the political manipulator, ruthless though he came to be in carrying out measures against his former friends, always lacked a kind of earthiness, lacked resolution at crises, was not quite the stuff of the complete dictator. In the broad outlines, however, the rise of Robespierre and the Jacobins seems undeniably a process like processes we are witnessing in the modern world.

It is a pity that Dr. Eagan spends only a few perfunctory pages on Robespierre's fall. One of the most striking differences between Robespierre and Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler is that our modern dictators have already so far outlasted his brief tenure of power—eighteen months of real power, or three or four years at the most, including the years of preparation. History may ultimately record our modern totalitarian states as transitory, no more permanent than the Pisistratid tyranny or the Napoleonic Empire. But right now we must be struck with the fact that even the most recently established of them, that of Hitler, has already far outlasted the Jacobin dictatorship. Had Dr. Eagan examined more closely the reasons for Robespierre's fall, he might have made his study in comparative dictatorships even more illuminating.

CRANE BRINTON

Harvard University

Parnell, Joseph Chamberlain and Mr. Garvin. By HENRY HARRISON, O.B.F., M.C. (London: Robert Hale, Ltd. 1938. Pp. 255. 10s. 6d.)

The author of this book fans vigorously the embers of old controversies and starts a new one with Mr. J. L. Garvin. As a close associate of Charles Stewart Parnell in the last years of his life, Captain Harrison learned much of the inside story of Parnell's work as leader of the Irish Nationalists and about his love affair with Mrs. O'Shea. In *Parnell Vindicated* (London, 1931), Captain Harrison presented a spirited and closely reasoned defense of his hero. But the new material contained therein was ignored by Mr. Garvin in his *Life of Joseph Chamberlain.* Chamberlain plunged rather deeply into the murky waters of the Anglo-Irish politics of the 1880's, some mud stuck to his name; and Mr. Garvin has done his best to clear it. In doing so, he has, in the judgment of Captain Harrison, ignored or misread the meaning of important facts and in other ways departed from well established standards of historical scholarship.

Among the issues raised by Captain Harrison are, whether Joseph Chamberlain in 1882 knew of the Parnell-O'Shea liaison and that the supposedly injured husband was a complacent cuckold who tried to benefit by the illicit love affair of his wife. The question is important because Captain O'Shea was used by Chamberlain as the intermediary in the famous Kilmainham negotiations and apparently secured some definite promises concerning the Irish Secretaryship. The relationship between Chamberlain and O'Shea supplies the background for Captain Harrison's treatment of the Parnell-Chamberlain discussions concerning the latter's scheme for Irish councils, the break between Parnell and Chamberlain, Chamberlain and Irish Home Rule, Chamberlain and the "Parnellism and Crime" episodes, 1887-1890, and the connection between Chamberlain and the O'Shea divorce case.

Captain Harrison is a vehement controversialist and a skillful advocate. Both Chamberlain and Mr. Garvin are placed in the dock. To the former he is unsparing and the latter he treats about as roughly as can be done without running the risk of a suit for libel. In the light of the evidence offered by Captain Harrison, it is difficult to believe that Chamberlain was ignorant of the Parnell-O'Shea triangle at the time when he used Captain O'Shea as a confidential agent. Whether Chamberlain fully appreciated that Parnell accepted the plan for Irish councils simply as an installment of local government may perhaps be left open to doubt, but it seems certain that Chamberlain was largely responsible for placing the investigations of *The Times* charges against Parnell in the hands of a partisan special commission instead of in those of a select committee of the House of Commons; and the material presented by Captain Harrison strengthens the suspicion that Chamberlain urged O'Shea to start the suit for divorce as a means of ruining Parnell. Chamberlain was intensely

ambitious and a ruthless fighter; and in Parnell he had an enemy of the same caliber who must be struck down. What Captain Harrison neglects to mention is that this last blow was fatal only because Parnell had become imbued with the idea that he was invulnerable. By his refusal to retire from the leadership of the Irish Nationalist Party, he served the purpose of Chamberlain and frustrated his own and Gladstone's efforts to secure justice for Ireland. The book is extreme in its partisanship, and in places the case against Chamberlain and Mr. Garvin is argued with so much elaboration that the reading becomes wearisome. But it contains facts and offers arguments deserving of consideration by all students of the Anglo-Irish relations during the 1880's.

PAUL KNAPLUND

University of Wisconsin

The Jacobean Age. By DAVID MATHEW, Litt.D., M.A., F.S.A. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1938. Pp. 354. $5.00.)

Students of English history, who had read David Mathew's *Catholicism in England (1535-1935)* were so pleased that they hoped that other studies from the same pen would follow. Their hopes have been realized. *Catholicism in England* was in the nature of a comprehensive survey. The *Jacobean Age* is a historical diagnosis of a special period. Lingard had dealt with the Stuarts, so had Pastor. Bishop Mathew has had at his disposal a rich deposit of hitherto untapped archival material in the form of letters and diaries. This gives his critical appreciation of the age a value which it otherwise would not have in the minds of professional historians. In no outstanding way, can it be said, that the picture of this period given to us by Bishop Mathew is much different than that previously delineated by the masterful hands of Lingard and of Pastor. But he has confirmed them. This in itself is a worthwhile contribution. A study of new sources which confirms previously published studies is in its way just as valuable as one which leads to an entirely new picture.

With too many of us the Jacobean Age has been a sort of P. S. to the Elizabethan period. The author has lifted it from its previous place of something of an "after-thought" of another period to a position of its own. David Mathew has become the historian of this particular feature of English history. He gives us *des portraits intimes* of King James, Robert Cecil, George Villiers, Francis Bacon, and the Earl of Arundel. Only one who had such knowledge of sources could draw the intimate pictures of outstanding men found here.

The book is an objective analysis. A more accurate title for this learned work would be *Glimpses of the Jacobean Age*. The title of the book leaves one under the impression that it might be a well-rounded out treatment of the age. It is no such thing. This book presupposes a

knowledge of the period. Only scholars will be able to read this book with interest. The uninitiated had better consult some general work on the period.

In a well written and timely article published by the *Ecclesiastical Review* (March, 1930) Peter M. Dunne, S.J., warns us of the necessity there is of understanding the Protestant historical attitude. Why has the rift between Catholics and Protestants in England lasted so long? The answer to this question is to be found in Bishop Mathew's book. "The memory of the Gunpowder Plot affected the nation profoundly and for some years increasingly. . . . The memories of Smithfield and the Inquisition made it essential that the name of Catholic should not again be connected with powder or with fire" (p. 92). This is giving what Dr. Dunne says, "a side which has been too often neglected by us." Again Mathew says, "Few men have ever done a graver dis-service to their co-religionists than those who were consenting parties to the ground plan of this conspiracy" (p. 13). It is not surprizing that after this Catholics should be of a retiring sort. "In a subdued fashion all four, Sir Thomas, and Lady Kitson and Lord and Lady Darcy were Catholics" (p. 34). The militant Catholicism of the gunpowder type had given away to a more secret and quiet practise of the Catholic religion.

Bishop Mathew discounts the description given of James by Sir John Oglander that, "he loved young men his favorites, better than women, loving them beyond the love of men to women . . . especially the Duke of Buckingham." Commenting on this Mathew says, "This represents current opinion but it does not seem to be completely borne out by the facts" (p. 23). The evidence which the author presents to refute this opinion is very weak. He does not accept Oglander's opinion in this matter but a little later he quotes Oglander as being free from prejudice (p. 24). He cites Oglander to prove that James was not as unprepossessing as some of his enemies would have us believe. It does happen that a writer may be reliable on one question and unreliable on another, but the reason for this discrepancy should be given.

Scholars generally will be happy to hear that David Mathew, a worthy successor of Acton and Gasquet, has been appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Westminster. It is our prayerful wish that his new duties will not be a detriment to further contributions to the field of historical scholarship. The book is quite handsomely illustrated. On page 95 he states, "the right hand upon the Bible." It is the left hand, not the right, as the picture indicates. The Index could be fuller. Although we find references to the Smithfield and Inquisition incidents in the book, no mention is made of them in the Index.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

Loyola University
Chicago

The Whig Party, 1807-1812. By MICHAEL ROBERTS. [Studies in Modern History, L. B. Namier, General Editor.] (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. 453. $8.00.)

Professor Roberts has chosen to tell the story of the Whig party in the first five years after Grenville and Grey fell in 1807. No Whig government held office for the next twenty years and not until November, 1830 did Grey form the ministry which passed the Reform Bill. The Whig efforts of the period from 1807 to 1812 might easily be characterized as failures from a superficial point of view but for the fact that their attempts to keep alive the idea of reform through co-operation with outside forces made possible the Bill of 1832. Secondly, there were enough Whigs who cared for personal liberty to offer decided resistance to coercion in the war years when liberty might easily have disappeared. Thirdly, both the followers of Grenville and Fox consistently defended unpopular Catholic claims to emancipation. Had the Whigs succeeded in their efforts, England might have been spared the picture of a country on the brink of social and political revolution.

Professor Roberts has carefully explored the reasons for Whig failure to enact their reforms. It was not due to a lack of competent leadership. There were several able men on the front benches, men such as Whitbread with ideas of constructive reform, who might have accomplished what Brougham did later. The exigencies of the Grenville alliance, however, demanded the choice of such a figure as George Ponsonby whose chief claim to distinction was that he was the uncle of Grey's wife. Professor Roberts is undoubtedly correct when he writes that the best thing they could have done would have been to break away from the Grenvilles and make Whitbread Whig leader in the Commons. The difficulties which lay in the path of the Whigs were unbelievable. The attitude of Canning who favored Catholic Emancipation and yet did all he could at the election of 1807 to stir up Protestant feeling against the Whigs is but one example of the spirit of faction which made Whig accomplishment of party ends almost impossible. Grey remained lazy and aloof, pretending that the sudden absence of the governess of his children kept him from the House. While the study of Professor Roberts is admirable in every respect, one wishes that he could have devoted more space to their difficulties and to their good intentions than to the modesty of their achievements. Notwithstanding, it is a study which must be read by all who would understand the tenor of English politics of the period.

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The Letters of King George IV, 1812-1830. Edited by A. ASPINALL, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Modern History, University of Reading, with an Introduction by C. K. Webster, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Stevenson Professor of International History, London School of Economics, University of London. Three Volumes. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co., 1938. Pp. lxxxiv, 525; 554; 547. $23.00.)

The publication of these volumes puts at the service of students much valuable source material for the history of early 19th century England with many interesting items for continental history as well. The collection numbers around 16,000 letters and documents gathered from the archives at Windsor Castle. It was a prolonged and difficult task and the editor, Dr. Aspinall of the University of Reading, has done the work with care and exactitude. Footnote references give necessary information, biographical and otherwise, on persons and events mentioned in the correspondence. A detailed list of the letters by month and year with names of sender and recipient occupy fifty pages of the first volume. The end of the same volume has a genealogical table of the Hanoverian family from the Electress Sophia to Queen Victoria, with additional tables for the houses of Würtemberg and Mecklenburg-Strelitz with which the Hanoverians intermarried. Another table gives the personnel of the five ministries comprising the cabinet of Great Britain from 1812 to the death of George IV in 1830. A thirty-eight page index of proper names at the end of the final volume enables the student to track down subjects of interest with relative ease.

It is not surprising to learn that these three stout volumes do not comprise all the correspondence of George IV. Much primary material touching the prince-regent and king has been destroyed, among which, as the editor tells us, were the Fitzherbert letters, ordered destroyed by the Duke of Wellington in August, 1833, acting in the capacity of one of the executors of the king's will (p. lvii). Another source which must have been rich in gossipy detail for this reign was ordered burnt by the late George V in January, 1913, namely the letters of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (p. lvii). A great amount of the royal correspondence was of little historical importance so the editor therefore had to make a selection. That, so far as the reviewer could determine, has been judiciously done, though there are some things we would all like to see, for example a more numerous sampling of George IV's correspondence with the Holy See since this king was on terms of warm friendship with the Roman court. Indispensable to the use of these materials is the excellent summary and evaluation of their contents given in a twenty-page introduction by Professor Webster of the University of London whose standard work on the *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* qualified him to speak with

real competence on the worth of the present publication for the period of the regency and the Vienna peace.

While nothing startlingly new is found in these letters which would compel serious revisions of accepted interpretations of the main events of the reign, many gaps are filled in more closely. The bulk of the letters are to and from members of the royal family, cabinet ministers, personal friends, and a considerable number to or from ruling sovereigns on the continent. Practically all the major problems of the reign pass in review, such as the Catholic question where one finds among other things the Duke of Cumberland, George's brother, writing excitedly about Catholic gains which he noted in a visit to Silesia in 1828 (III, 429). The same brother wrote George from Berlin in January, 1829 that he would gladly hurry to London for the opening of parliament to help the king in the expected crisis on Catholic Emancipation, for George should realize the Duke's willingness to sacrifice anything for him, "except change my principles on that great question on which I sense the security of your Crown depends" (III, 452). Parliamentary corruption stands out in all its sordidness here, as for example when we find Lord William Bentinck writing to Col. John McMahon, the regent's private secretary, that he could not 'buy' a borough or contest an election on his income of 1800 pounds a year and that his last election cost him 600 pounds, for which he is still in debt, therefore, "for God sake lose no time in laying my case before His Royal Highness" (I, 167).

Readers of this journal will doubtless be interested in the specimens given of the cordiality existing between George IV and Pope Pius VII and Cardinal Consalvi, the papal secretary of state. It would seem the Holy Father lost no opportunity of continuing the good relations which Consalvi was able to establish with the regent on his visit to London in 1814. On May 29th, 1817 the regent writes to thank Pius VII for his letter of congratulation on the suppression of the radical riots of the previous December which endangered public order in London (II, 194); on September 6th of the same year he again extends his thanks for the presentation to him by Cardinal Consalvi of the Stuart Papers transmitted from Rome (II, 199); on January 31st, 1818 the regent addresses a letter of gratitude to the pope for his message of condolence on the death of the Princess Charlotte, the regent's daughter (II, 243) and on April 29th, 1820 the king pens an effusive note of thanks for Pius VII's congratulations on his accession to the throne (II, 327). Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire, a resident in Rome for some years and a close friend of Cardinal Consalvi, was at pains to tell George of the high opinion of him entertained by both the pope and his secretary of state (II, 214; III, 6). All this must have been quite acceptable, but one wonders if the edge of satisfaction was not a little dulled when the regent learned of the hospitable manner in which the Roman court treated his estranged wife, Princess Caroline, a detail which

was reported to England from Italy by James Brougham in a letter to his brother, Henry in March, 1819: "The Pope and G(C)onsalvi are extremely civil to her, and on the best of terms" (II, 274). Cause for interest in the regent's reaction arise from the almost fierce aversion he had for Caroline during the last years of her life.

Those interested in the Fitzherbert case will find the long diary entry of Sir William Knighton for November 5th, 1830 enlightening for George IV's opinion — given here by his secretary — as to the validity of the marriage into which he entered with Mrs. Fitzherbert. Knighton used some pretty strong language about the woman which he topped with this flourish: "This Mrs. Fitzherbert is an artful, cunning, designing woman, very selfish, with a temper of the worst description and a mind entirely under the influence of Popish superstition" (III, 482). The student of the regency period will therefore be well repaid by a perusal of these volumes in which Dr. Aspinall has displayed careful editorship and the publishers a handsome job of book-making.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

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The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service. By CHARLES J. JEFFRIES. (London: Cambridge University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 259. 10s 6d.)

This work on the British Colonial Empire and its civil service is very extensive and very detailed. It includes several chapters on the historical side, that is, the development of the colonial service, together with an extensive consideration of the colonial service as it is today. One striking feature of the development of the service is the gradual nature of its growth according to no formulated plan and no set principles of public administration. The person who is a stranger to the field will be amazed at the lack of organization which characterized the service almost down to the present day, in fact down to the year 1930, and here it should be remembered that when the British speak of the colonial service they do not include the dominions and India. Even at the present time it is not possible to speak of unification under the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs if one has in mind by that term a carefully arranged hierarchy of officials from the lowest civil servant in, let us say, West Africa, through the various other colonial offices to the Secretary of State. Many colonial officials are still locally employed from the natives of the colonies who have not been covered by the various plans of unification. That there is still something to be accomplished before complete unification can be realized, and it is questionable if it ever will be, may be seen from the present arrangements whereby promotion from one colony to another is only possible in a few designated branches of the service.

In the matter of native education in the colonies, while there is an advisory committee set up for the purpose of guiding and co-ordinating policy, this whole field still lacks the co-ordination which has been introduced into other colonial activities. In the same category are the railway, marine, and public works services as well as the accounting service. Nevertheless, the whole trend is towards the centralization of direction in London with a great many exceptions provided to suit local conditions in the colonies. There is nothing in all of British colonial administration resembling the very detailed, very logical and very highly centralized system which Spain worked out for its colonies several hundred years ago. Nor is there any such structure as is provided in the present-day French colonial administration. Nowhere else is seen that typical characteristic of British governmental policy of muddling through in the colonial service. In more senses than one, this very characteristic has made for the success of the British administration. Particularly there has been a flexibility in regulations to fit local contingencies which has not been possible in the case of the government of Spanish, French, and American dependencies.

Another feature of the service which may surprise many people, who think of the carefully recruited home service of England, is the patronage factor which was very much a part of British colonial administration in all services until fairly recently. No doubt, one of the reasons for the lack of a co-ordinated selective process was the difficulty in securing people to fill posts in many of the colonies because of the great sacrifices demanded in the ordinary amenities of life, health, and general well-being. It must be remembered that life in West Africa, Tanganyka, and other tropical regions held, until recently, few inducements to the man who desired to live his life in physical and social security. With the great advances in the science of medicine, hygiene, and sanitation, life in the tropical countries has become more attractive to Englishmen. Nevertheless, it is still true that in many of these colonies the Englishman may not hope to rear his children if he desires that they be given a proper education. Colonial service still means that the person who goes to the outlying portions of the Empire must live apart from his family for periods of a year to eighteen months. The difficulty, therefore, of securing an adequate personnel let us say twenty-five years ago, made it necessary that a selection of administrators be made on a hit or miss basis. At the present time, however, many branches of the service are covered by examination requirements for entrance followed by adequate probationary periods. Schools of training for some of the services have been set up in England for the training of candidates for colonial possessions in such services as agriculture, medicine, forestry, and others. From Mr. Jeffries' account it would seem that under the more rigid systems in force now for entrance into the service, the British are securing a large number of university trained people who are making a career for themselves in this line of work.

A striking feature of the present set-up is the generous range of salaries provided, together with sickness benefits and retirement allowances. All of which might well constitute a pattern for other nations to follow. For instance, quoting from the author: " the scales of salaries for the university graduate class, of which the bulk of the unified service is composed, start at not less than £400 a year and run up to at least £1,000 a year ". It must be understood in this connection that this means the non-professional group and it must also be understood that the value of the pound is much greater in purchasing power in the colonies than at home. When one, too, considers that special arrangements for housing, medical attention, and other services for the employees are made, the salaries will not seem at all inadequate. One finds much larger salaries in other services, particularly the professional where the compensation may rise to six, seven, eight, or nine thousand dollars a year.

This work then of Mr. Jeffries provides the public administrator with a wealth of valuable material in one of the most difficult fields of public administration, that of colonies. As a matter of fact, it is so packed with factual information that it is not likely to be read by others outside of the administrative field. Even for the person accustomed to reading long reports on administrative organization and public personnel, there is no little difficulty in threading one's way through the infinite mazes of administrative technique which the book reports. This necessarily should not be held against the author for it must be remembered that he is giving an exposition of a highly complicated subject. Yet one wonders in painfully making his way through the material, whether or not an occasional use of charts or diagrams might not help to clarify the subject matter even for the professional reader. In any case this work will be most easily comprehended by the veteran who has actually been in the service for at least ten years. For the person interested in the history of administration the work is a careful and valuable contribution.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

An Institute of Ibero-American Studies of the Catholic University of America has recently been founded. The purpose of the Institute is to correlate and further the work in Ibero-American studies within the University itself and to establish closer and permanent contacts with Catholic universities, institutes, etc. in the Ibero-American countries and in Spain and Portugal. Mr. Richard Pattee, who is a specialist in Latin American culture, has been made acting director of the Institute.

A revision of the *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada,* a publication of the H. W. Wilson Co., has been announced and is now under way under the editorship of Miss Winifred Gregory at the Library of Congress. This highly useful work was originally issued in 1927 with supplements in 1932 and in 1933. Over 70,000 periodicals were listed in these volumes, together with a brief description of each periodical and the holdings of more than 200 American and Canadian libraries. It is hoped in this revision to enlarge the information on all items and librarians are now being asked to check their present holdings against the old lists.

The Facultas Historiae Ecclesiasticae created in 1932 at the Gregorianum has inaugurated a series entitled Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae. The scope of the series is to be papal history in a very wide sense: biography, institutional history, papal influence on religion, law, and culture. For the most part it is intended that each fascicle shall constitute a monograph, but shorter articles may also be printed. Works will be published in any of the principal modern languages or in Latin. They must be submitted to the editorial board, which consists of the faculty of church history of the Gregorianum. Ordinarily only the works of mature historians will be accepted for publication. Father W. M. Peitz has contributed the first volume: *Das vorephesinische Symbol der Papstkanzelei.* The fascicles will appear at irregular intervals and will be sold by S.A.L.E.R., Piazza Montecitorio, 118-120, Rome.

The Warburg Institute announces the publication of a new journal to be called *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* starting in October of this year. The high quality of the review is guaranteed by the fact that it will be edited by Richard Hunt and Raymond Klibansky, both distinguished mediaevalists. It will appear twice a year. Articles on the history of philosophy and theology and on the evolution of political and

scientific thought will be published, as well as unedited texts and notes concerning new discoveries in the mediaeval field. The list of contributions to be included in the early numbers is both inviting and imposing. The subscription price is $5 per annum. Subscriptions should be sent to "Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies", The Warburg Institute, Imperial Institute Buildings, London, S.W. 7.

Bulletin No. 14 of the *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States and Canada* was published in March under the editorship of S. Harrison Thompson by the University of Colorado (price: 40 cents). It is gratifying to know that this very useful aid to mediaevalists will appear annually. The contents of the present Bulletin consist of lists of papers on mediaeval subjects read at the meetings of learned societies during 1937 and 1938, of books in press, of mediaevalists (580 names) and their publications, and of doctoral dissertations. There are also several pages devoted to items of special interest. For the next Bulletin Professor Thompson promises several review articles written by specialists in the fields covered.

The April number of *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* begins "A List of Recent Bibliographies". Compiled by Rudolph Hirsch, it is a catalog of bibliographies published during the past three years and accessioned by the Library. The list (567 works) is continued in the June issue through the letter S. History is well-represented among the titles.

The March number of *History* contains a rambling but pleasant Inaugural Address on "History and the Plain Man" in which the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres makes the point that if professional historians insist upon being dry-as-dust, they have no right to blame the general public for reading interestingly written but inaccurate "popular" histories and biographies.

On Ascension Day Pope Pius XII took solemn canonical possession of his Cathedral, the Archbasilica of our Most Holy Redeemer—more commonly known as that of Saint John Lateran—Mother and Head of all the Churches of the World. The tradition of this ceremony reaches back to the time of Pope Leo III (795). Prior to our own day it was carried out for the last time by Pope Pius IX when he took possession of the Lateran Basilica on November 8, 1846. For almost a century this solemn ceremony was made impossible by the peculiar circumstances which kept the pope a prisoner of the Vatican. Pope Pius XI indeed visited the Lateran Basilica on December 20, 1929, but not with a view to taking possession of the Cathedral. Now, with the relations between the Church and the Italian State restored on a normal and mutually acknowledged basis, the ceremony of the formal, solemn, canonical possession of his Roman Cathedral by the pope as the bishop of Rome has again been introduced in its traditional form.

Stephan Kuttner contributes an article of fifty pages on "La réserve papale du droit de canonisation" to *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* (April-June). He arrives at the interesting conclusion that, contrary to the accepted opinion, it was not Alexander III but Gregory IX who expressly reserved the right of canonization exclusively to the Holy See. The article is written with Professor Kuttner's usual meticulous care, quite worthy of the dedication to the memory of Ulrich Stutz. It has an appendix containing pertinent documents, some of which are edited from unpublished manuscripts.

In the "History of Civilization" series, religion fares ill. This comes to mind again with the publication this year in English dress of *The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus*, by Charles Guignebert. M. Guignebert has appeared before in English. His *Christianity, Past and Present* (publ. 1927) was prefaced by himself with a reference to the "atavistic tendency" he shares with us, which "would have us believe that Christianity . . . will never perish;" to "dispel this illusion" he devoted his volume. The book just translated was put forward by the general editor of the corresponding French series in 1935 with the assurance that, "This book, which will contribute to the explanation of Jesus and his religion, will likewise aid . . . in understanding the myth of the Christ and the Christian syncretism." Those for whom such an announcement holds out hope may find the book itself somewhat disappointing. The Christian reader will turn by preference to such a work as J. Bonsirven's *Le Judaisme Palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ: sa théologie*," 2 vols., Paris, Beauchesne, 1935; or, in smaller compass, the same author's *Les idées juives au temps de Notre-Seigneur*, Paris, Bloud & Gay, 1934. Less a specialist in this particular field was the late Père M. J. Lagrange, whose *Le judaisme avant Jésus-Christ* appeared (Paris) in 1931. Solid contributions are provided also by articles of the late Fr. J. B. Frey, in *Revue Biblique* of 1916, *Gregorianum* of 1927, and *Biblica* of 1932. An invaluable background for the period is to be had in J. Touzard's long series, "L'âme juive au temps des Perses," which appeared intermittently in *Revue Biblique* from 1916 to 1927. An ample study is provided in the *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* of J. Felten, 2-3 edn., 2 vols., Regensburg, 1925. Of this, there is an Italian translation, as *Storia dei tempi del Nuovo Testamento*, 2 edn., 4 vols., Turin, 1932.

An article by Mr. J. J. Saunders in the March issue of *History* discusses the historical value of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* for readers of the present day. A great deal of interesting information is condensed into its few pages. Gibbon's work is undoubtedly a literary classic, but it is scarcely surprising that a book written a century and a half ago should no longer be an authoritative guide to a subject upon which so much study has since been done. Leaving aside matters of detail, Mr. Saunders considers

four serious defects which are fundamental. These include his notorious contempt for Christianity, and his equally great prejudice against the Byzantine empire and civilization, which made it impossible to treat either one with fairness or understanding. And Gibbon's total ignorance of the Balkan Slavs lost him the clue which makes much Byzantine history intelligible.

The monumental *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France* by Msgr. Lesne is one of those fundamental works meant primarily for the use of scholars. Begun in 1910, it is the work of a lifetime. In 1938 appeared Tome IV, *Les Livres, "scriptoria" et bibliothèques* covering the period 700-1100 A. D., years which were critical for the survival of western culture. It is an immense field in which many detailed studies of scattered points have been made, but this is the first book to bring the information together. A preliminary section studies the books which survived in Francia in 700 A. D., and the additions brought to this core from other countries during the four following centuries. The main body of the volume is divided into three sections. The first deals with scriptoria, showing that they were almost exclusively ecclesiastical, and largely monastic. The author describes the methods of dating a manuscript and assigning it to a particular scriptorium. Then follows a review of these studios in geographical order, a series of monographs gathering all shreds of evidence concerning the manuscripts produced in each one. The second section consists of a number of chapters dealing in great detail with the mechanics of book making—the materials used, the equipment of the scriptorium, the training and methods of the scribes, the system of supervision. Since the study of calligraphy and miniatures is well developed and very extensive Lesne gives them only a summary treatment, though he is fully acquainted with the latest studies on them. The final section, concerned with libraries, is less technical and of wider interest. We are told the ways in which libraries grew and the means we have for discovering what they contained. Then we are again taken on the tour of the monasteries of Francia and given whatever is known of the works contained in each collection. This information is summarized in a chapter, "Constitution des Bibliothèques", pp. 762-789; the libraries were limited both by the poverty of the primitive kernel, and by the specialized and practical nature of a collection intended primarily to supply the liturgical, spiritual, and intellectual needs of a religious community. An average monastery might gather between two and three hundred manuscripts from the ninth to the eleventh century; Reichenau and St. Gall were among the richest with over a thousand each. Most of these were works by ancient authors, relatively few were mediaeval. Apart from bibles and liturgical books, doctrinal works formed about two thirds of most libraries, Augustine and Jerome being most fully represented. Then followed history, hagiography, law, the liberal arts,

and finally scientific works. The book is the fruit of immense labor; while much of its contents is technical, it contributes an important page to our knowledge of the history of culture.

The Editions Auguste Picard announce the publication of Jean Guiraud's, *L'Inquisition au XIV^e^ et au XV^e^ siècle.* This is the third and final volume of the author's *Histoire de l'inquisition au moyen âge.* It will contain the general index.

Icones Saintes by Ildephonse Dirks (Amay-sur-Meuse, 1939, pp. 85), which has already appeared in four languages, has been completely revised in its second edition. The work is based on the fine collection of Byzantine and Russian icons at Amay and also on Dom Ildephonse's researches in Soviet Russia.

Desclée, De Brouwer will issue this year the third and last volume of the *Correspondance du Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle, 1575-1629,* edited by Jean Dagens. The letters, the bulk of which are now published for the first time, are not only an important source for the history of the Church but also for the political and literary history of the age of Louis XIII.

The January-March number of the *Revue Mabillon* (Vol. XXIX, 1939) contains: "Les recensions de Fontenelle du martyrologe hiéronymien et l'histoire du monastère" by Dom J. Laporte, and the edition, with a running commentary by Jean Godefroy, of a contemporary life of Dom Claude Paquin (1677-1756), a monk of Saint-Vanne.

In the January number of the *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* Professor Georges Tessier offers some practical suggestions concerning the usefulness of the science of diplomatic for the further study of mediaeval church history.

As one of the features of the celebration of their fourth centenary in 1940, the Jesuits of France have projected *Les Establissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles.* The work, which is to be published by the four provinces of the Society in France, will be a topographical, historical, and bibliographical repertory of the Jesuits in France and the vicinity from the foundation in 1540. The editors have solicited the assistance of a number of collaborators, chiefly archivists, librarians, professors, and members of learned societies. The work will appear in fascicles, later to be gathered together. The general editor is P. Pierre Delattre, 7, rue des Augustins, Enghien, Belgique.

A recent volume of the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes is *Le Comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenet et ses fils: 1151-1204* by Jacques Boussard.

Father Arquillière contributes *L'Eglise au moyen âge* to the Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religieuses. In two volumes of the same series Father de Ghellinck covers mediaeval Latin literature to Saint Anselm.

The *Bulletins critiques* (Jan. 1939) of the *Revue historique* has bibliographies on the Ukraine, on France (1498-1660), on the French Revolution and the Empire, and on Germany in the modern period.

The 11th *Table générale* of *Revue Historique* includes the years 1931-1935.

The *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* has reached fasc. 128-129 (Salamanque-Schneider); the *Dictionnaire du droit canonique,* fasc. 13-14 (Clauses-Chantres); *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne,* fasc. 154-155 (Perse-Pie Zeses).

P. Broutin, S.J., contributes an article "Un projet d'association sacerdotale au début du XIX^{e} siècle," to the March number of *Nouvelle revue théologique.* It concerns the little-known Abbé P. S. Blanc, associate of Lamennais and superior at Malestroit. The fall of Lamennais spoiled Blanc's life. After a short biography Père Broutin describes a project for an association of priests which Blanc prepared in the early years of his priesthood (about 1825). It was unusual inasmuch as it provided for neither vows nor a life in community. It was intended to help the diocesan priest lead a more perfect life. There is no indication that the plan ever got beyond paper. It is interesting to note that similar associations have actually been organized in France in recent years.

One of the recent dissertations presented to the University of Louvain for the Doctorat ès sciences historiques is *The Chevalier de la Luzerne, French Minister to the United States: 1779-1784,* by William E. O'Donnell.

Dr. E. Staedler publishes an edition of "Die westindischen Lehnsedikte Alexanders VI (1493)" in *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* (1938, 3-4). The author contributed "Die *donatio Alexandrina* und die *divisio mundi*" to the preceding volume of the same review.

The Rev. Rey Carrera has recently published (Editorial española, St. Sebastian) a volume devoted to five leading Spanish Catholic writers (Donoso Cortés, Jaime Balmes, Aparicio y Guijarro, Menendez y Pelayo, and Vázquez de Mella) under the title—*El resurgir de España previsto par nuestros grandes pensadores* (pp. 408).

In *Theologie und Glaube,* XXXI (1939), 241-255, an article on the martyrdom of the Church in Spain — "Das Martyrium der spanischen Kirche unter der Schreckenherrschaft des Bolschewismus", by Theodore Toni, Bilbao, Spain—reveals the following certified statistics concerning the brutal murdering of priests, both diocesan and regular, by the Spanish Reds: In the diocese of Badajoz 37 (including 2 seminarians); in the diocese of Orihuela 61; in the diocese of Malaga 176, among whom are to be counted 3 newly ordained priests and 4 seminarians; in the diocese of Plasencia 20; in the archdiocese of Burgos 23; in the diocese of León 16;

in the diocese of Cadiz 4; in the archdiocese of Granada 30; in the diocese of Oviedo 148 (including 2 seminarians); in the diocese of Santander 151; in the diocese of Coria 2 (shot outside the territory of that diocese); in the archdiocese of Seville 31; in the archdiocese of Toledo 127 (1 a seminarian); in the diocese of Barbastro 129; in the very small diocese of Iviza 25; in the diocese of Minorca 38; in the diocese of Albarracín 1; in the diocese of Sigüenza 32; in the diocese of Calahorra 2; in the diocese of Lérida 350; in the archdiocese of Santiago 1; in the diocese of Avila 50; in the diocese of Cordova 73 (including 3 seminarians); in the diocese of Vitoria 58. These constitute the heroic band clustered about their leaders, the martyred bishops of Almería, Barbastro, Ciudad Real, Cuenca, Guadix, Jaén, Lérida, Segorbe, Sigüenza, and the auxiliary bishop of Tarragona.

In order to gain a more complete picture of the extent of the catastrophe the following notes should be added: The diocese of Plasencia up to the time of its eventual liberation (end of March, 1939) counted a considerable number of its priests as having resided in the zone under the control of the Reds, and the fragmentary reports available concerning their lives are unmistakably pessimistic; from the diocese of Santander come reports of the secret killings of many priests who were not members of that diocese but resided there, prior to Franco's victory, as educators or as students; in the diocese of Huesca 43 priests fell into the power of the enemy hordes and it can be assumed that they have been shot; in the archdiocese of Toledo 60 priests remained in the Marxist territory and the rumors concerning them are anything but reassuring; in the diocese of Teruel the 36 priests who with their bishop have disappeared are held as dead; in the diocese of Tortosa it is thought in view of the latest reports that no more than 200 of the original 500 priests are still alive; in the archdiocese of Granada it is reported that 150 priests were massacred, and there is no trace of the 37 priests still missing; in the diocese of Albarracín 1 priest was murdered, but many were held in the power of the Reds and it seems more than probable that they are no longer alive; in the diocese of Minorca it was made known that 38 priests had been shot; in the diocese of Saragossa there is no news concerning 80 priests, and similarly nothing is known about many others of the diocese of Sigüenza who fell into the hands of the Reds. And when, it may be asked, will all the martyrs of the priesthood be known in such populous centers as those of Barcelona, Madrid, and Valencia?

The pastoral letter of the Spanish episcopate as early as July 1, 1937, tore the mask from the face of Bolshevism when with incontrovertible evidence it pointed to the vast number of slaughtered priests and demolished churches as an indication of the intent of the Reds to destroy and eradicate the Church in Spain. In the face of incomplete figures the Spanish hierarchy could point to the desecration and total plundering of as many as 20,000 churches and chapels. The number of murdered priests,

counting only the diocesan clergy, amounted to 40 per cent in the devastated dioceses—in some even to 80 per cent — so that the number of massacred priests amounted to a total of 6,000.

On November 7th the twelfth centenary of St. Willibrord, apostle of the Frisians, will be celebrated. To many St. Willibrord is only a name associated with the so-called dancing procession (*Springprozession*) that year after year attracts many thousands of pilgrims to his tomb at Echternach on the Tuesday of Pentecost week. As the first successful Anglo-Saxon missionary on the continent he deserves to be better known. He is testimony of the success of the Roman mission in England. Under that influence he was trained at Ripon, where he became a Benedictine. After a sojourn of twelve years in Ireland he was ordained priest and then set out in 690 on his Frisian mission. On his second visit to Rome (695) he was consecrated bishop and given the name Clemens. History has been rather kind to the Saint. Bede wrote of him and Alcuin gives us his biography. Most of the sources concerning him are conveniently available in the comparatively recent Tomus III Novembris of the *Acta Sanctorum*, where they are edited by Père Poncelet. Cf. A. Zimmerman, *Kalendarium Benedictinum*, III, 270 ff. for a recent notice on Willibrord. Quaint little Echternach in the Duchy of Luxemburg has a beautiful basilica containing the *Confessio S. Willibrordi*. This will be the principal scene of the anniversary celebration.

The Herder Verlag announces the publication of part one of the *Werkbuch der Kirchengeschichte* by Georg Hahn, S.J., under the title, *Die Kirche der Martyrer und Katakomben* (Freiburg i. B., 1939, pp. 480, 32 tables). The second and third parts will treat of the Roman Church and the West and of the World Church.

Volume IV (Innsbruck, 1938) of the " Publikationen des österreichischen historischen Instituts in Rom ", edited by Dr. Ignaz Dengel, contains Dr. Josef Wodka's, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte eines Kardinalprotektorats der Länder an der römischen Kurie* and Dr. Gottfried Lang's, *Studien zu den Brevenregistern und Brevenconzepten des 15. Jahrhunderts aus dem Vatikanischen Archiv*.

The *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, the organ of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, is now edited by Gerhard Ritter with the assistance of Heinrich Bornkamm and Otto Scheel. Volume XXXV (1938, Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann) also inaugurates a new policy. In the future the field of research and discussion will be broadened to include non-Lutheran Protestantism. Less emphasis will be placed on the editing of sources and more attention will be devoted to the " problem of the mutual relationship of church, state, and people."

The editors of the new *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, published by Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münster, under the auspices of the Institut für missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen, promise to devote considerable space to mission history. The review will appear three times a year.

To commemorate the 70th birthday of the late Ulrich Stutz two anniversary volumes have been published by his former students and his admirers (*Festchrift Ulrich Stutz zum siebzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Verehrern*. Weimar, 1938). One part containing twenty-five articles, is devoted to canon law, the other containing twenty-nine articles, to Germanic law. Professor Stutz was an expert in the history of both these fields of law. If his own immense bibliography of 1045 titles were not enough to keep his name present before canonists and historians the wealth of erudition poured into these two volumes would perpetuate his memory. To pick out only a few of the titles of interest to church historians: P. Schramm writing on the beginning of the papal states takes up the oath of Pepin at Ponthion in 754. G. Barraclough writes on benefices; P. Vaccari deals with the relations between civil and canon law from the 12th to the 14th centuries. S. Merkle throws new light on the problem of the gaps in the record of the acts of the Council of Trent. On the Germanic side mediaeval city-law receives considerable attention. Articles on the Jews and on the rôle of the Germans in the history of law show a connection with current political trends in Germany.

A revision of the Seppelt-Loeffler *Papstgeschichte* has recently been issued by Pustet with several additional appendices, chief of which is a list of the principal ecclesiastical events of the past twenty centuries.

On Sunday, May 21, the Russian Patriarch, Msgr. Evreinoff, celebrated a Solemn Pontifical Mass in the Byzantine rite at St. Peter's in Rome to commemorate the 950th anniversary of the baptism of Saint Vladimir. The Catholics of Russia look upon Vladimir, the saintly duke of Muscovy, as their patron.

Father Cuthbert, O.M.Cap., died at Assisi on March 22. He was born at Brighton in Sussex in 1866. His family name was Hess. His lengthy bibliography on *Franciscana* is well known, especially his *Life of St. Francis*. To make St. Francis a living figure whose example holds solutions for our times was ever his purpose. The *London Times* said in its obituary: "Father Cuthbert may be said to have been the most outstanding Franciscan of the century in England."

Jonathan Cape, Ltd. announces Volume II of the annual bibliography, *Writings on British History, 1935* (Royal Historical Society). Bibliography from Anglo-Saxon times to 1915 is listed. Though the expansion

of England overseas is included, the domestic history of the colonies and dominions is included only when it directly concerns England.

The death of Sir William Mitchell Ramsay occurred recently. He was a pioneer in the ancient history of Asia Minor and possessed remarkable versatility in the auxiliary sciences of history. Besides, he published many works in history for the general public. In both the scientific and popular field he wrote on church history. Noted among his works are *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* and *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*.

Constitutions of All Countries, Vol. I: *The British Empire* assembles a detailed collection of documents defining the constitutional organization and framework of the countries within the British Empire. The second volume will contain similar materials for continental European countries and their colonies. Vol. I is available at H.M. Stationery Office at 10 s. 6 d.

The Catholic Truth Society (England) during last year distributed 1,421,587 pamphlets, nearly 25,000 books, and over a quarter million leaflets. Much of their literature is historical in nature.

In an essay "The Catholic Contribution to English Prose," appearing in the April issue of the *Australasian Catholic Record*, Father E. J. Stormon, S.J., treats of the period from Richard Rolle to Thomas More and his circle. He notes at the end of his article that Professor J. S. Phillimore, the distinguished convert of Glasgow, called attention as long ago as 1913 (*Dublin Review*) to the need of investigating English Catholic literature in the period following the disbandment of the More circle. Among the things that need to be investigated are the literature of the Catholic exiles at Louvain, Reims, and Douai, and such authors as Nicholas Sanders, Stapleton, Allen, Persons, and Campion. Father Stormon hints at the possibility of his writing a brief account of this neglected prose in a supplementary essay.

A book by Geoffrey Keynes on *The Library of Edward Gibbon* will be published by Jonathan Cape. It will include a catalogue of Gibbon's books.

Burns and Oates are publishing two volumes: *Life and Letters of Mrs. Fitzherbert* by Shane Leslie. The author has found much new material, including over fifty unpublished letters, on the secretly married wife of George IV.

Supplement No. 9 of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (November 1938) is a *Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales* for 1937. Publications of 156 societies are reported, and there are three indexes: names of societies, titles of books and articles, and authors and editors. One notes with regret that the British Society of Franciscan Studies was dissolved in 1936.

Number VII of Bibliographical Aids to Research in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, February, 1939, pp. 168-180, is devoted to "Publications in the Library of the Royal Empire Society on place names in the overseas Empire."

The Scottish History Society has published the *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, edited by D. E. Easson and Angus Macdonald.

G. Reid Anderson begins his *The Abbeys of Scotland* with a description of life in the modern abbey of Fort Augustus. Then he proceeds to study the architecture and social function of twenty-five historic Scottish abbeys.

The new *Irish Historical Studies* in the March number continues its well organized bibliographical series with "Writings on Irish History, 1937." There are also addenda to the list for 1936. In the same issue Paul Walsh contributes "Historical Criticism of the Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell" and T. W. Moody writes on "Sir Thomas Phillips of Limavady, Servitor." The review will be indispensable to anyone interested in Irish history. The subscription price is 10 s. for two numbers appearing semi-annually (Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin).

A Catholic population of 21,406,507 for the United States, Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands is reported in *The Official Catholic Directory* for 1939 (P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York). This total represents an increase of 239,827 over that of the preceding year. The growth during 1937 was 207,546, while that of the previous year is recorded as 223,945. Other comparative figures in the new directory indicate an increase of 1,293,749 during the past decade and an increase of 3,857,183 since 1919. The number of archdioceses remains 19 and the dioceses are the same in number as last year—96. The active cardinals, archbishops and bishops numbered 130, when the *Directory* went to print. Three bishops have since been named by the Holy See. Three are in retirement. The total number of clergy, both diocesan and regular for 1939 is 35,540, an increase of 872 over the 1938 figure. The establishment of 329 new parishes brings the total of churches and missions to 18,757. The seven-page necrology lists the deaths of 483 of the clergy. Three new seminaries account for the new total of 209, accommodating an increase of seminarians from 15,984 to 16,746. The 1939 *Directory* lists 181 colleges for men, 677 colleges and academies for women, 1362 high schools and 7,561 parochial elementary schools. There are 441,273 students in Catholic high schools, and 2,106,970 in the elementary schools. Following the downward trend of the past few years, the number of orphanages is now 311, housing 36,206 orphans. There are 167 homes for the aged and 679 hospitals. The church has been notably prosperous in the number of converts gained this year, the total of 65,943 being an increase of 2,247 over last year's figure. Archdioceses showing a Catholic population of a million or over

are: Boston, 1,027,544; Chicago, 1,400,000 and New York, 1,000,000. Brooklyn is still the only diocese in the million class, with a Catholic population of 1,169,054.

Under the auspices of the United States Catholic Historical Society the 150th anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as first President of the United States was commemorated by a Solemn High Mass at historic St. Peter's Church, New York City, on Wednesday, May 10. The sermon was delivered by the Reverend Dr. Philip J. Furlong.

Vol V, no. 2 of *St. Meinrad Historical Essays* has recently been published by the seminarians of St. Meinrad Seminary.

On May 10th at a conference in Kansas City 900 Methodists representing three branches of their church came to an agreement which unites the Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal South, and the Methodist Protestant churches. Their combined membership is estimated at 8,000,000. Five other branches with something less than 2,000,000 members remain independent.

Catholic historical scholarship has suffered a double loss in the recent deaths of Father Lawrence Kent Patterson, S.J., professor of history at Woodstock College, and the Reverend Dr. James Veale, professor of moral theology in Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, Md. Both have contributed extensively to this REVIEW.

Because of the death of Dr. James Alexander Robertson, Managing Editor of *The Hispanic American Historical Review* since its inception, the Duke University Press announces the appointment of Dr. John Tate Lanning, Associate Professor of History in Duke University, to be his successor. Dr. Alan K. Manchester, also of Duke University, has been appointed Associate Managing Editor.

The Minutes of the Twenty-Third Regular Meeting of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, held at Waco on May 8th, are in print. The chairman, Dr. Foik, presents an enthusiastic report of the progress of their work.

Documents. Il progetto di "Riforma dei principi" al concilio di Trento (1563): alcuni testi conciliari e altri documenti inediti o poco noti riguardanti i rapporti fra stato e chiesa. Luigi Prosdocimi (*Aevum*, January-June).—Corrispondenti di S. Carlo Borromeo: 1550-1559 (continued). Adolfo Rivolta (*Ibid.*) — Lo stato pontificio nel quadriennio 1831-1834; catalogo di una raccolta di fogli volanti conservati nel museo del risorgimento di Milano. Leopoldo Marchetti (*Ibid.*).—Il "De viris illustribus, sive De scriptoribus sacris Ordinis Cartusiensis" di Giacomo Loreto [Description of the manuscript]. Giuseppe Rotondi (*Ibid.*).—Reliquie di S. Carlo a Montecassino [Three documents]. Tommaso Leccisotti (*Ibid.*).—La

Corrispondenza del Poliziano col Re Don Giovanni II di Portogallo. Guido Battelli (*Rinascita*, April). — Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury Preserved at the Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Part XVII. Edited by M. S. Giuseppi. His Majesty's Stationery Office. [Materials on the Gunpowder Plot, etc.].— Seven Letters from Gladstone to Guizot. Elizabeth Parnham Brush (*The Journal of Modern History*, June).—" Un significativo documento de 1558 sobre las missiones de infieles de la compañia de Jesús," *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu*, January-June.

Anniversaries. The parish of Benediktbeuren, Bavaria, recently celebrated the 1200th anniversary of its foundation. Benediktbeuren was founded as a monastery in the year 739, but dissolved in 1803. Ever since, the beautiful church has been the goal of many pilgrims and art lovers.— The diocese of Regensburg is observing the 1200th anniversary of its foundation by St. Boniface. Pope Pius XII sent a letter in his own hand to Bishop Michael Buchberger commending the Regensburg Catholics.—The fourteenth centenary of the birth of St. Gregory of Tours was celebrated at Clermont-Ferrand in May.—Croatia is celebrating the 13th centenary of its conversion to Catholicism this year.—Portugal will celebrate its eighth centenary with an exposition beginning next May.—This is the 250th anniversary of the death of Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome.—The Xaverian Brothers are observing their one hundredth anniversary.—In May the Dominican Order observed the centenary of the Order's restoration in France through the efforts of Lacordaire.—Dominican College at San Rafael California celebrated its 25th anniversary this year.

BRIEF NOTICES

ABBOTT, WILBUR C. *The Expansion of Europe.* 2nd rev. ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1938. Pp. xxx, 512; 517. Two volumes in one. $5.00.) Professor Abbott's well known work first appeared in 1918 in the American Historical Series. The first revised edition was published in 1924. In his brief preface to the third edition (second revised edition) the author states that the new revision is done "in accordance with various suggestions made since the appearance of the second edition" and that the bibliography is brought more nearly up to date. But in the copious bibliography of thirty-five pages one looks in vain for a book that has appeared since 1918. The index of nearly fifty pages is ample and satisfying. Volume one remains practically the same as the second edition, but volume two has been augmented by some ninety pages. Two chapters have been added to the previous edition: one on the "Age of the French Revolution and Napoleon," and one on "Social, Intellectual and Colonial Europe, 1789-1815." These chapters are a logical and desired addition. Maps and illustrations are abundant and good.

In a sub-title the author declares that these volumes are "a social and political history of the modern world, 1415-1815." We have here first of all a history of Europe from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century with an account of the rise of the modern state system, intellectual and cultural developments, and social changes. The story of European expansion into the non-European world by discovery, exploration, colonization, and various contacts is really subordinated to what happened in Europe. But the attention to the colonial movement and its results both in Europe and abroad is sufficient to justify the title of the book. There is an abundance of factual detail, so much indeed that the reader might easily lose sight of the underlying movements that make the facts of history intelligible. The device of placing dates and topics in the margin is helpful. The summing-up paragraphs at the close of chapters and occasional philosophizing statements indicating trends and movements make the book something more than an encyclopedia of facts.

The reader will not always agree with Professor Abbott's judgments. Most writers today find the Renaissance less glorious than did the historian of past generations. Some are willing to admit that enthusiasm for Humanism checked even the scientific advances of the thirteenth century. In view of present chaotic opinions about the nature of man and the meaning of life, one will hardly agree with Dr. Abbott's statement (I, 242) that, "in the period in which the Protestant communions took their rise . . . began the first great serious effort, which was destined to success, to discover the secrets of the structure of the universe and *man*." Nor does history bear out his statement (I, 41) that the appearance of the Bible in the vernacular and its wider diffusion due

to the invention of printing account for the break-down of the "ecclesiastical monopoly" of the Catholic Church. Neither will all agree that "the emancipation of the human mind from the trammels of dogma" in the sixteenth century was a blessing which "increased capacity to conceive great ideas, to discover and to learn" (I, 240).

Still the author declares that "without the softening and civilizing influence (of the Church) the dark ages would have remained mere savagery," and that the ecclesiastical conquest of Europe was a temporal as well as a spiritual blessing (I, 19-21).

Professor Abbott's *Expansion of Europe* is a product of research, scholarship and wide reading. It is written in an attractive and clear style. To both student and general reader it is a useful and worthwhile book. (CARL H. MEINBERG)

BERNIER, ALFRED, S.J. *Saint Robert Bellarmin et la Musique Liturgique.* (Montreal: Studia Collegii Maximi. 1939. Pp. xiii, 305.) Robert Cardinal Bellarmine was a musician. That was one of the objections to his canonization! But the articles of defense are set forth in an interesting array in the epilogue of Father Bernier's book. However, whether the cardinal was a true musician or not, it is clear that his interest in music was the interest of a Catholic apologist and a saint.

Protestants were vehemently opposing the traditional liturgy of the Church; that would come naturally from their attack upon her doctrines, but it would also be the means of undermining more doctrines. As professor in the Roman College, there was an excellent opportunity for the eminent controversialist to reach many a future priest of England and France—for many of them attended his classes—and prepare them for the battle against error where it was most severe; if he could fill them with the liturgical spirit for their own priestly lives, he felt sure he could send out formidable warriors against heresy.

But there was controversy within the fold too. Humanist musicians, and musicians in general, anxious to try the new forms of music and import them with all their frivolities into the sanctuary, were being opposed by a saint. When a well-educated saint begins to think over the application of an art to the worship of God, he will usually give you the very best norms of the fit and the fine; his principles of ascetics will often wisely control his principles of esthetics. St. Robert Bellarmine has given us a surprising amount of instruction on the correct standards of church music; it was a saintly sense of fitness that made the rules of musical decorum clear to him.

Father Bernier has brought out a book that is a great credit to the general spirit of study and research amongst the Jesuits of Montreal. He does not hesitate to take up the subject with a much broader vision than the title would indicate; he has had access to many documents, and he gives valuable information about the personality of the cardinal, his development and his general culture. These things are as appealing as the excellent chapters on the crisis of sacred music in the 16th century and the teaching of Bellarmine on liturgical subjects. Then too, there are some busy and interesting pages on his liturgical reforms as Archbishop of Capua, and later on as a member—the leader, if not the head—of the Congregation of Rites. Musicians have

sometimes wondered what part the cardinal had in the history of church music, particularly in the Medicean edition of the chant: they will find a very satisfying treatment of the question in Father Bernier's book. (JOHN C. SELNER)

BROSCH, JOSEPH. *Der Heiligsprechungsprozess per viam cultus.* (Rome: Gregorian University. 1938. Pp. xi, 131. Lire 28.) Whereas in the first ten centuries of the Church public veneration given to the servants of God was the result of approval by the *vox populi*, by local bishops and provincial councils, since Alexander III (1159-81) it has been reserved to the formal approbation by the Holy See. Urban VIII (1623-44), most solicitous to remove certain abuses in so grave a matter, defined more specifically the preliminary courses of eventual beatification and final canonization, which latter is generally conceded to involve the prerogative of papal infallibility, by two distinct juridical processes, the one *super fama sanctitatis* (*virtutum*) the other *super fama miraculorum*, plus the proof of *de non cultu*.

As a *casus exceptus* to this formal procedure of what was hereafter to be considered the ordinary process of beatification and canonization Urban VIII admitted the *cultus immemorabilis non interruptus* given to any servant of God for at least one hundred years prior to the promulgation in 1634 of the decree mentioned, i. e. to be specific, to all those who died in the odor of sanctity after the decree of Alexander III in 1181 and before the year 1534.

The author of the present work has made a special study of this *casus exceptus per viam cultus* regarding the "older" servants of God with specific application to the cause of the lovable German mystic Ven. Herman Joseph, a Premonstratensian monk of Steinfeld, who died in 1241. Dr. Brosch is to be commended on the excellent method of presentation and concise elaboration of his subject. It may serve as a model for all bishops and higher religious superiors interested in the eventual beatification or canonization of similar "older" venerable servants of God whose processes were temporarily interrupted by the decree of Urban VIII. The author did well to base his historical developments for the earlier methods of procedure on the classical treatise of Benedict XIV, written as Cardinal de Lambertini, entitled: *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione.*

The reader would have been benefited by an alphabetical list of persons, and the student of history by a brief chronological summary of papal decrees bearing on the subject. To the dispensation of the now required three (*sic!*) miracles (Canon 2138 § 2 of the Code) for the canonization of those who have been beatified *per viam cultus immemorabilis*, by Pope Pius XI of happy memory in favor of St. Albert the Great, might have been added a similar dispensation by the same pope in favor of the two English martyrs, Sts. John Fisher and Thomas More. Twice, on p. 1 and p. 5, the years 1623-34 are placed after the name of Urban VIII as though they might signify the years of the pontificate of that pope, whereas he reigned from 1623-44. The two photostatic reproductions in the back of the book would seem to require, for the casual reader, both explanation and modern transcription. (RAPHAEL M. HUBER)

CHAPMAN, CHARLES E. *Republican Hispanic America: A History.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1937. Pp. xiii, 463. $3.00.) This volume, intended as a text book and in this regard well written, is a companion volume to the author's *Colonial Hispanic America: A History.* It is an interesting presentation of the history of Hispanic America after the winning of independence. In the preface the author announces his *credo* as expounder of Hispanic-American history, saying that "I am going to tell the truth as I understand it," but protesting that this "does not mean I am a carping critic of Hispanic America." He loves "Hispanic America more like a 'brother' than a 'soft-spoken friend'" because he believes that "it is better for Hispanic America to have that type of student of her institutions" (p. viii). With such an attitude sound historical scholarship can have no quarrel. One can not help wondering, however, while reading the text, whether its author had in addition to his desire to be fair and impartial also the requisite knowledge and understanding of Hispanic America's Catholic background, without which an adequate appreciation and correct interpretation of Church-State problems is not possible. It is here that Professor Chapman's volume leaves much to be desired. This defect is owing perhaps to the fact that the volume deals almost exclusively with political history, leaving unnoticed highly important and significant sidelights in the social and cultural fields of Hispanic America. The Catholic Church has nothing to fear from the searchlight of scrutinizing and critical scholarship. She sees danger only —and rightly guards herself against it — in the efforts of otherwise well-meaning historians who by training and tradition are unable to understand fully the meaning of the Church's existence during the past twenty centuries and to grasp adequately the philosophy behind her activity and influence in Hispanic America during the colonial and consequently also during the post-colonial era. With this basic observation fixed in their mind, teachers of Hispanic American history may well introduce the text of Professor Chapman now under review and also his earlier volume *Colonial Hispanic America: A History.* Both these texts, by the way, are now available in one volume. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

Defoe's Review. Reproduced from the Original Editions, with an Introduction and Bibliographical Notes. By ARTHUR WELLESLEY SECORD. Twenty Two Volumes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. $88.00.) Daniel Defoe published his *Review* in nine volume from 1704 to 1713, thus covering most of Queen Anne's reign. It appeared under several titles, was issued at varied intervals, and often carried notable supplements. It won immediate recognition in quite a new field of writing, ranking rather as a journal than as a newspaper. Although Defoe is known chiefly for his other works, this venture was an important one for him and it brought to his readers expert thought on political and social questions. Its influence on the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* is generally accepted.

Defoe was a shrewd observer and wrote fearlessly and forcefully, especially in the earlier years of the *Review*; later his duties towards a large family, his persistent debts and a taste of prison colored his views somewhat. He had good sources of information until the Whigs fell in 1706. The journal then

tended to become non-political. But it did continue to furnish information which is now very valuable in history, letters, economics and journalism, and when the proposal was made to put out this facsimile edition, scholars from many fields applauded the effort.

A decade ago, a few members of the Modern Language Association began to organize the work which has now been brought to completion. The usual problems of finance, of assembling scattered parts, of comparing texts, and of coordinating the work of several scholars were met with. Professor Frank A. Patterson of Columbia University saw the work through to publication. He was ably assisted by Professor Arthur W. Secord of the University of Illinois who added an introduction to each of the original nine volumes, as well as supplying bibliographical notes; he also contributed a general introduction to the whole set in which he discusses several questions which naturally come to readers.

Four of the important American sets of the *Review* were brought together for collation and photographing, but recourse was also had to many other sets or parts of sets. From these it was possible to issue the *Review* as completely as possible, with title pages, indices, prefaces and supplements in 5,610 pages in twenty-two volumes. Only one page of the original is missing, for no sample could be found.

The Facsimile Text Society has thus added to its long list of publications a notable work for which it will have the gratitude of scholars in many fields. (FRANCIS A. MULLIN)

D'ENTRÈVES, ALEXANDER PASSERIN. *The Mediaeval Contribution to Political Thought. Thomas Aquinas, Marsilius of Padua, Richard Hooker.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 148. $3.00.) The author, professor of the philosophy of law at the University of Pavia, states in his preface that the present book consists of lectures delivered in the University of Oxford during the Summer term of 1938. He also tells us that it is not the purpose of the book to present a complete narrative of the development of political thought. The subject of the lectures had previously been treated by the author in a book on medieval political philosophy and another on Richard Hooker, both in Italian. Professor F. M. Powicke has written an introductory note to the present English book of Professor d'Entrèves in which he says that it is primarily intended for readers who have little or no acquaintance with the history of the West between the age of St. Augustine and the age of Bodin and Hooker. He informs us also that instead of a long bibliography prepared by Professor d'Entrèves only a brief selection of titles of books and papers has been added at the end of the book.

The author takes the position that the history of political theory is a history of ideas and not a history of political institutions. To him it is primarily the history of the attempts to solve the problem of political obligation. He has chosen for his special consideration the idea of political obligation as found in the writings of such widely divergent thinkers as Aquinas, Marsilius, and Hooker. He believes that these three men have expressed the main aspects of medieval thought. He holds that medieval thinkers tried to construct a theory of politics not only upon a religious, but upon a philo-

sophical and legal basis. It cannot be said that the author has made any new discoveries in the writings of Thomas Aquinas. He finds that Marsilius of Padua is only a medieval Aristotelian. Professor d'Entrèves warns his readers not to be deceived by the apparent modern character of the Marsilian conception of the State. One may wonder why Richard Hooker's political theories should be examined in a book concerned with medieval political thought. However, the author agrees with Dean Church that the outlines of Hooker's theory of law and politics are to be found in the great work of Thomas Aquinas. Professor d'Entrèves tells us that Hooker is thoroughly medieval. Despite its fragmentary character the book should interest those engaged in the study of medieval political doctrines. (JOHN J. ROLBIECKI)

DERRICK, MICHAEL. *The Portugal of Salazar.* (New York: Campion Books, Ltd. 1939. Pp. 168. $2.00.) Since there is so much loose talking about Fascism, especially from the leftist platforms, this book is especially valuable, in that it definitely places Portugal in the non-fascist category. This is perhaps its chief importance. After discussing the political organizations of Portugal, the author then speaks of the country's delicate position during the Spanish Civil War, fearing on one hand the spread of communism in the Iberian peninsula and yet unwilling to endanger her friendly relations with England by refusing to accept without reservations all the proposals of the International Committee for Non-intervention in the Spanish War. Incidentally, the book throws interesting light on the historic alliance between England and Portugal, most recently evidenced in the British mission which went to Portugal in February of this year.

The first general survey of the *Estado Novo* which has appeared in English, it should also be of interest to the student of social theory. The important point is brought out that although Italy is a corporate state it is a *corporatisme d'état*, whereas Salazar, the principal founder of the new Portuguese state, has rejected *étatisme* in all its forms. Salazar undoubtedly owes a certain debt to Italy but his greatest debt is to the social teachings of the Church, especially to the *Quadragesimo Anno*.

The book has a table of contents, notes to the chapters, but no index. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

GILSON, ETIENNE. *The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure.* Trans. by DOM ILLTYD TTETHOWAN. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1938. Pp. xii, 551. $5.00.) The appearance of the English translation of Professor Gilson's classical study, *The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure*, is definitely an important event in the field of neo-scholastic philosophy. It emphasizes again the extreme importance of a precise historical approach to philosophical problems which Professor Gilson has done so much to encourage by his brilliant studies. Here the author makes a particular plea for the place of St. Bonaventure in the broad field of scholastic philosophy, a place which has too often been ignored by reason of its disagreement with the philosophy of his great contemporary, St. Thomas Aquinas. Dr. Gilson makes his very particular contribution, especially from the historical viewpoint, in showing clearly that St. Bonaventure, contrary to common opinion which has tended to become stereotyped, knew the philosophy

of Aristotle quite thoroughly. The important historical fact is that even with that knowledge, he definitely turned away from Aristotle, and through the force of his own genius, developed the Augustinian traditions which he had received from Alexander of Hales.

It must be admitted that St. Bonaventure is a philosopher of the first rank in his own right, and in addition, one who is definitely opposed to many of the fundamental views of St. Thomas. Hence, the older method of disposing of him, which has been familiar to Thomists, will no longer avail. It, therefore, becomes necessary to examine the fundamental ideas of St. Bonaventure, if we are to gain any truly clear understanding of the philosophic scene in the thirteenth century. To this task Professor Gilson has set himself with a clarity and thoroughness that is typical of his contribution to the study of medieval philosophy. Thomists especially will have to consider this volume as prescribed reading. (CHARLES A. HART)

FROST, BEDE, O.S.B. *St. John of the Cross.* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. xiii, 411. $4.00.) Father Bede's penetrating study is necessarily addressed to a limited public. He does not try to novelize the life of his subject or to popularize his teachings. He fully realizes that a mystic like St. John of the Cross must be approached with circumspection, that his ideas and sentiments are not the usual run of experience and that they cannot therefore be appreciated by the greater number. But the author does try, by his sympathetic approach and by his thorough acquaintance with the works of the saint, to throw some light on the personality and the ideas of the mystic, so that his experiences, if the privilege of only a few, can at least be understood by an increasing number of readers.

This knowledge he tries to convey by a logical analysis of the works of the saint—*The Ascent of Mount Carmel, The Dark Night, The Spiritual Canticle,* and *The Living Flame.* As the author points out, the understanding of these works presupposes, on the part of the reader, a certain acquaintaince with the terms of a philosophy and theology not widely known today. Part of his task has therefore been to translate the language of the saint into an idiom intelligible to the modern reader. He has therefore explained with scrupulous exactitude all terms and ideas that might puzzle or mislead the reader. One welcomes the great number of definitions with which the book is filled. These are supplemented by as many distinctions as are necessary to bring out the true meaning of the saint's thoughts, so often misinterpreted. When particularly difficult passages in the works of Saint John cannot be elucidated in any other way, Father Bede has had recourse to concrete examples, most of which are so felicitous that the reader immediately perceives the idea that the saint wished to convey.

But it is chiefly by comparing the doctrines of Saint John with those of the Scriptures that Father Bede succeeds in throwing light on the former. His quotations from the Bible are well chosen and bring out the fact that the words of the Doctor of Divine Love are in a sense a commentary on the Divine Word. The author also demonstrates how closely the philosophy and theology of the Spanish mystic follow those of St. Thomas. Indeed it is not only through the Scriptures but also through the *Summa* that we are to

arrive at a knowledge of the philosophy, spirituality, and teachings of Saint John of the Cross.

To say that Father Bede's exposition is not without some minor defects would not be true. One sometimes loses sight of the saint and of the unity and continuity of his works in the discussions of the many complex problems that arise as a consequence of the author's effort to treat the subject with the completeness that even an introduction to the teachings of Saint John requires. The very complexity of the material is sometimes reflected in the style. Some of the sentences are too long, too involved. But for the man or the woman who is willing to think, to make an effort, this interpretation of the writings of Saint John of the Cross is stimulating, instructive and edifying. (JULES ALCIATORE)

GOODWIN, SISTER MARY CLARE, C.S.A., Ph.D. *The Papal Conflict with Josephinism*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1938. Pp. xiii, 153. $2.00.) This volume was presented by the author as a doctoral dissertation in the Graduate School of Fordham University. The title suggests the type of study of which we should see more emanating from Catholic universities. Anything that throws further light on the critical relations between Church and State is particularly welcome in these days of renewed and mounting tension between the two societies. The reader will not find much that is new in this book. While there are numerous footnote references, too many citations of primary materials appear through secondary works. For example, why not go to the original memoirs of Cardinal Pacca rather than quote them out of Mourret's *Histoire de l'Église*? (p. 40, note 9). In a study of this character one might expect the author to draw to some extent upon the Klosterarchive in the *Haus-Hof-Staatsarchiv* which contain so many riches for Joseph II's policies, especially as they affected the religious houses.

Because Joseph II was well traveled in his dominions would surely not justify the belief that he "had complete knowledge of his people" (p. 36). Few rulers of his 'enlightened' age displayed greater lack of true understanding of his subjects than this very emperor. The empire of Charles V was quite as motley an aggregation of states as that of Emperor Charles VI of whom it is said that, "no prince ever ruled over a greater medley of races differing widely in language, customs, and traditions" (p. 15).

The work carries a bibliography of almost twenty pages which leaves much to be desired in the way of proper classification and completeness. For example, citing the work of Nippold under both primary sources (p. 138) and secondary works (p. 144); indicating all ten volumes of the Mourret *History of the Catholic Church* as translated (p. 149); including textbooks such as the items of Schevill and Higby (pp. 141, 146); and more serious, giving a long list of periodicals with no more data as to their importance to this study than the place and first year of publication (pp. 151-152). The section on "Guides" (pp. 152-153) is out of place and unnecessary. There are a number of printing errors. One should read 'Louis XIV' for 'Louis IV' (p. x); 'Clement XIII' (p. xi). The volume has a brief index. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

Great Catholics. Edited by CLAUDE WILLIAMSON, O.S.C. (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, Ltd. 1938. Pp. 571. 10s 6d.) The English edition of this book differs from the United States edition in that it contains eight studies and an introductory essay on biography which are not found in the book as published in this country, while the volume published by Macmillan in New York contains a study of Cardinal Hayes which is absent from the London volume.

The book is made up of forty-four biographies of "Great Catholics," no two by one writer. With so wide a variety both of subjects and of authors there is inevitably wide diversity of treatment. Some of the essays are fundamentally biographical, others are studies presupposing in the reader an acquaintance with the facts of the subject's career. While that safeguards the book from monotony it rules out any leading idea or single point of view and consequently deprives the book of unity except on a broad acceptation of that term. That would not, however, be in a volume of this kind necessarily a defect if the reader could discern some definite principle of selection, and to the present reviewer such a principle seems lacking. "Great" is a vague term but at least it ought to designate one who has risen to the height of supreme achievement in a particular field and for that reason deserves to be widely known and thankfully remembered. If that be what the adjective means it is difficult to perceive how it is applicable to some of the persons studied here. They might be described as "distinguished" or "important" or "interesting" but hardly as "great." Moreover, whether some of them are outstanding *as Catholics* may be questioned. Aubrey Beardsley is an instance. He was blessed with a Catholic death, having entered the Church less than a year previously, but had he lived a Catholic life? Certainly some at least of his drawings, whatever be their artistic value, do not breathe the spirit of Catholic morals, as he himself recognized. To place such a person with St. Paul and St. Catherine of Siena as a "great Catholic" is puzzling. Most of his significant work was accomplished before he was a Catholic at all and Catholicism had little if anything to do with it. And then there is Eusebius of Cæsarea. That "the Father of Church History" may claim the epithet "great" will probably be admitted, but his friendship for Arius coupled with a suggestion of ambition and intrigue do not exactly qualify him to serve as a model of Catholic virtue.

On the whole the book represents an excellent idea not excellently realized. Both terms, "great" and "Catholic" have been taken too broadly. (EDWIN RYAN)

GUINEY, LOUISE IMOGEN. *Recusant Poets.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1939. Pp. xv, 419. $6.00.) As far back as 1911, Professor A. O. Meyer of the University of Munich wrote in his *England und die katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth und den Stuarts* (Rome, 1911) that although a treatment of the Catholic poetry of the Shakespearian age belongs to the history of literature, nevertheless it cannot be omitted from a description of the English Catholic Mission during the reign of Elizabeth. Poetry played no small part in the dissemination of Catholic propaganda and today reveals to the historian the Catholic sentiments of that period much more accurately than

other extant material. *Recusant Poets*, therefore, is a valuable addition to Tudor historical literature. Especially is this true with regard to the biographies prefixed to each group of verse. It should be mentioned, however, that evidently Miss Grace Guiney, who continued the work after Miss Imogen Guiney's death, in 1920, was not aware of the authoritative biography of Verstegen by Edward Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen: een Polemist der Contra-Reformatie* (Brussels, 1933). On the other hand, other little known poets, with their poems, are presented for the first time. All bear testimony to the heroic, even gallant, behavior of the martyrs, at once longing for the days that were never to return and joyfully anticipating the immortal crown which was soon to be theirs. The present volume is the first in the series, the second of which is promised for next year. There is an index of first lines, a glossary of words, and an index of names. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

GUNDOLF, FRIEDRICH. *Anfänge deutscher Geschicht-schreibung.* (Amsterdam: Elsevier. 1938. New York: Nordemann Publishing Co. Pp. 176. $3.00.) This technically perfect book treats of the beginnings of historiography in the German tongue not so much from the historian's point of view as from its relation to general literature, of which, according to the author, it is or should be an integral part. It begins with the Swiss chroniclers of the 16th century, singling out Gilg (Aegidius) Tschudi (1505-1572) for special consideration. It ends with Winckelmann (1717-1768). In between it considers in succession what it chooses to call theological historiography, then compilations of anecdotes, translations and historical compendiums, anthologies of historical sayings, books of travel and geographies, political histories and confessional histories, with an excursus on Bossuet. Among the more noteworthy names it mentions Johannes Aventinus and Sebastian Franck, and for cosmography the famous Sebastian Münster. The work is laid out on no narrow scheme: it broadens out to bring in for one reason or another, but chiefly by way of comparison, not only the ancient Greek and Roman historians, but also Italian, French and English writers, as well as the international background which influenced the German writers perhaps more than those of any other country. The work contains many very suggestive hints relating to the art of writing history. No one, not even the author, would expect the world to accept the author's opinions on his *ipse dixit*. They deserve, however, serious consideration. The book suffers from the circumstances under which it came into being. It is a posthumous work, originally designed on a much larger scale, specifically intending to treat particularly of the German historiographers from Herder to Burckhardt. This work was never written. The present book is no more than the introduction and even this part breaks off abruptly in the middle of its account of Winckelmann. Had the author lived, he would no doubt have revised both content and style. Nevertheless, just as it is, the book did deserve publication. An index of proper names makes reference to it easy. (AUGUST M. BELLWALD)

HACKER, LOUIS M., and BENJAMIN B. KENDRICK. *The United States since 1865.* 3rd ed. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General

Editor.] (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1939. Pp. xxiv, 821. $3.75.) The spirit and characteristics of this survey of recent American history were noted on its first appearance in 1932 (see this REVIEW, XVIII, 281). A revised edition, issued in 1934, added a new section on the accomplishments of the New Deal. The authors' note to the current edition calls attention to the following revisions: sections nine, ten, and eleven (the last third of the book) have been entirely rewritten; the size of the volume has been reduced from 835 pages to 821 (the first edition had 775 pages); the final four chapters, devoted to important events ushered in by the New Deal are new; the bibliography has been brought down to date; and the tabular and chart materials of the latter part of the book have been freshly prepared. The social trends of the New Deal philosophy are adequately presented. It is this portion of the volume which brings forceful realization of the change in American life during the past quarter of a century.

This manual, like its predecessors, is filled with critical and provocative statements which will be very apt to stir the student to thought and reflection. The text argues, invites discussion, often upsets complacency. There are two brief references to Roman Catholicism: one to its growth between 1789 and 1900; the other to its position in 1930. Here credit is given for its impressive work in education and for its "advanced program of social action (though steadfastly conservative as far as divorce and birth control were concerned)." "Nevertheless," the authors conclude, "the Church's influence on modern living was hardly commensurate with its numbers and the apparent devotion of its members." Here is a statement for intelligent class-room discussion. (LEO F. STOCK)

HALL, HENRY L. *The Colonial Office: a History.* [Royal Empire Society, Imperial Studies, No. 13.] (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. Pp. xii, 296. $5.00.) The Colonial Office of the British Empire, save for the period 1768-1782, had no separate existence until 1854. Before this date there was a confused and divided administration of the colonial business. In the years of American colonization matters pertaining thereto were under the control of the Crown, the Privy Council and its committees, and the Board of Trade which was in effect also a committee of the Council and, in some degree, a section of the Secretary of State's department. In 1782 the care of the colonies was transferred to the Home Office, then in 1801 to the War Office. With Lord Bathurst's accession in 1812, "the nucleus of a true Colonial Office came into being," and led to the separate establishment in 1854.

The present study begins with 1836 when the minutes are first available, and closes with 1885 when the main lines of policy were well defined. After that the problems mainly concerned foreign policy. Part I deals with the administrative phases of the office: its system, the staff, the governor, and the civil service. Part II discusses foreign policy, native policy, constitutional problems, difficult dependencies (Hong-Kong, Malaya, Cyprus, Mauritius, Malta, Trinidad), and the development of the dependent empire. The concluding chapter summarizes the general record of the office, the share of cabinet and parliament in shaping the future of the Empire, the importance of

the parliamentary staff, and the influence of the permanent staff. There are appended bibliographies, a list of the parliamentary staff, and of the permanent under-secretaries of state. The period covered by this study includes the formative years of the second British Empire; and the record, particularly of foreign policy which is to be found in the work of the Colonial Office, is important. The investigation, therefore, was well worth undertaking and the resulting volume contributes to a better understanding of the subject. During the period covered, the only affair of consequence touching the United States was the arbitration of the Alaskan boundary which, thanks to "the courageous decision of Lord Alverstone," was decided in favor of our nation, but which brought complaint from Canada that she was "sacrificed to the Empire." (Leo F. Stock)

Hay, Malcolm V. *The Enigma of James II.* (London: Sands and Co. 1938. Pp. 243. 8s. 6d.) Clio's ledger, as kept by English Whig historians, has definitely placed James II among the "bad" men of history. Cruel, insincere, malicious, a coward, these are a few of the characterizations of those who wish to justify the expulsion of the Stuarts. Macaulay, G. M. Trevelyan, and Winston Churchill adopted a uniformly hostile point of view towards the last of the Stuarts. Malcolm V. Hay has attempted to justify the Bloodless Revolution. Mr. Hay has done his job well. Through careful research and wise choice of materials, he has punctured several of the time-worn textbook explanations of James II. More than that, Hay has presented a picture of an honest man, genuinely interested in the introduction of toleration to England. His release of fifteen hundred Quakers could hardly be looked upon as a "papist" act. An Irish Catholic governor acting in the name of James, Duke of York, and with his consent gave the people of New York a Charter of Religious Liberty which declared: "No person or persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ shall, at any time, be in any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference of opinion on matters of religious concernment . . ." The Whigs preferred to see a dissembling king behind all of this. One cannot help but feel that their hatred of James was partly owing to the fact that he espoused in fact the principles which they held in theory. No teacher of modern history can afford to neglect the study of Malcolm Hay. It is a long awaited swing off the historical pendulum back to the James II who really was, not the monster the Whigs painted him to be. (James M. Eagan)

Helmreich, Ernst Christian. *The Diplomacy of the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938. Pp. xiv, 523. $5.00.) The impressive list of the *Harvard Historical Studies* receives an addition in Volume XLII with the publication of this investigation of the Balkan Wars by Professor Helmreich of Bowdoin College. The author gives evidence on every page of the industry and care with which he has conducted this study of a most complex set of problems affecting eastern Europe and indirectly of course affecting the western powers as well. The wealth of material yielded by the great documentary publications was supplemented by personal interviews during 1929-1930 with a considerable number of the actors in the Balkan drama.

The bibliography is extensive and excellently classified. Generous space is given to significant newspaper and magazine publications. In two appendices Professor Helmreich prints the summary of the military measures taken by the Hapsburg monarchy in 1912-1913, and a translation of the Serbian-Bulgarian treaty of alliance in 1904. These are published here for the first time. Professor Helmreich has placed students of recent Balkan history deeply in his debt. His book is a good example of how a doctoral dissertation—given the proper ability of its author and superior guidance on the part of its director—can be expanded into a contribution useful to all workers in the field. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

HOUCK, FREDERICK A. *Man's Triumph With God in Christ.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1938. Pp. xiii, 244.) The plan of this book is admirably conceived. It has its origin in the important realization that our apologists should no longer take for granted, even in our so-called Christian nations, such fundamental notions as the existence of God, the Divinity of Christ, man's assimilation to God through grace, and his final consummation in heaven. From a purely scientific point of view this treatise adds nothing to our store of knowledge. It may, however, do service for high-school and college students, by focusing their attention on some of the salient points of revealed doctrine. (LOUIS A. ARAND)

The Life of Chevalier Jackson, An Autobiography. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. x, 229. $3.50.) This is the autobiography of a physician to the world, well known and beloved. The beginning of his special work came with the removal of objects which had been swallowed and got caught in the oesophagus or swallowing tube. Dr. Chevalier Jackson became particularly adept in this and then went a long step farther by his development of bronchoscopy, that is the examination of the lungs to locate objects which had been inspired and removing them when, if they were allowed to remain, the patient would almost inevitably die. Foreign bodies including many different objects are usually inspired by children though occasionally by adults in laughing or sneezing. The most frequent foreign body in the lungs is the safety pin, usually open and very often with the pointed part of it facing upwards so that its removal is a most delicate problem indeed. It requires almost incredible rapidity and dexterity to accomplish this, often with only the time between two breaths, yet Dr. Jackson succeeded in perfecting his technique in marvelous fashion.

He became so skilled in the removal of these foreign bodies when it seemed almost impossible that this could be done except by a serious surgical operation that no wonder his name became known everywhere throughout the medical world. Patients came to him not only from all over the United States but from many parts of Europe and even from distant Australia. He created a new specialty and was offered chairs in bronchoscopy in no less than seven medical schools and that simultaneously, a thing previously unheard of. Dr. Jackson was willing to devote his time to teaching others his specialty. He was much in demand at medical society meetings because of the surprising results of his work.

He accomplished his work in spite of the most serious handicaps. No less than three times he had to give up his practice to a great extent and live the outdoor life for the arrest of tuberculosis. Fortunately his self-treatment proved a great success and three times he returned to go on with his life-saving specialty. He himself attributes the steadiness of hand so needed for this work down until well past the age of seventy to the fact that he never indulged in tobacco or whiskey or any of the habits that have a tendency to lessen control of the delicate peripheral nerves.

The poor who came to him were treated with the same skill and patience as the wealthy. For one patient who paid, nine out of every ten paid nothing or next to nothing. His practice was 95% charity. No patient was ever refused treatment. It was not, as he tells us, because he did not need the money himself, but because he simply could not think of patients in terms of money. His patients were nearly all the children of the poor. Professor Keen once said: "Chevalier Jackson's skill was acquired by a life time of work among the poor." Here is deservedly a beloved physician. (JAMES J. WALSH)

KOESTERS, L. *The Church: Its Divine Authority*. Trans. by Edwin G. Kaiser. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1938. Pp. xii, 342. $3.00.) This book is a translation of *Die Kirche Unseres Glaubens*. Twelve chapters comprise the substance of the volume which, after two prefaces, one by the author, one by the translator, begins with faith in the Church (c. 1), considers the certainty of that faith (c. 2), presents a picture of Our Saviour as drawn by the Church (c. 3), moves on to the seal of divine approval on the Church (c. 4). This is the author's analytical method.

It is followed by a very able series of chapters setting forth by the synthetic or historical method the premises to the Church (c. 5), the Kingdom (c. 6), the Church in the Gospels (c. 7), the Apostolic Church (c. 8), and the Primitive Church (c. 9). Where the second century Church is today Father Koesters points out in his chapter "Our Church" (c. 10). He brings the work to a close by a study of the Authoritative Church (c. 11) and by a relatively short but quite profound and sometimes very felicitous dogmatic study of the Church (c. 12, pp. 273-311).

Competency, succinctness, thoroughness within the limits set for himself, the author shows in this treatise *de Ecclesia*. Catholic college students, seminarians and priests should find the book very useful indeed. To say, however, that it is always easy reading or even interesting reading would be, in my judgment, to err by overstatement.

In the numerous and learned footnotes, packed especially with German references, one misses the English versions of such writers as Felder, Batiffol, de Grandmaison, Adam, Allard, Tixeront, von Pastor, Brunsmann, Karrer and others, all of whom are cited from the original French or German. True, the extensive bibliography at the end, topically divided, often makes up for this defect in the footnotes. But it has its own drawbacks too, in spite of its wide and remarkable range. The names of the books are not printed in columns, but run right on, making it none too easy to consult; and the titles are unfortunately not thrown into italics. References to the *Catholic*

Encyclopedia are notably missing in the translation, though this standard set is often available in libraries.

But these are meant as suggestions to the translator, whose job is thankless and most difficult as everybody knows, suggestions for bettering a book that is already too good not to be made the best possible in its English dress. Though chapter I, which puts the hard things forward right away, might prove a distinct hazard to the average non-Catholic reader, once he is past that he will find a large-hearted sympathy and a deep understanding running throughout the thoroughly documented and reasoned argument. (JOHN L. BAZINET)

KUYKENDALL, RALPH S. *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1938. Pp. 453. $5.00). Most of the older writings in the field of Hawaiian history, and especially those published in the years immediately following the revolution of 1893, were popular in style and often strongly partisan in content. But the attractive and well-printed volume before us provides an antidote to uncritical history in its excellent comprehensive analysis of the several factors which were active in the formation of the little island kingdom. Scholarly and impartial, it is entitled to a distinctive place in recent historical literature.

Dr. Kuykendall writes objectively with a surprising wealth of source material at his command. His selective process has been judicious and well balanced. For example, his narrative of the first Catholic missionary effort in Hawaii (pp. 137-147; 163-166; 341-344) is thorough enough, and, on the whole, satisfying. The treatment of this topic, which involves several international features, is creditable to the author's historical discernment.

Similarly the relations of the Hawaiian Islands to early California are adequately treated. Dr. Kuykendall is a Californian by birth, and has published research studies in the history of his native state. He is therefore qualified to interpret and evaluate the influences which appeared in American participation in the affairs of the kingdom. The period covered by the volume came to an end shortly after California's admission to the Union, and the study of later relations is accordingly limited. But the several suggestions that the islands be annexed by the United States are discussed, and this part of the book will be of interest to the student of American policy in the Pacific. The activities of the British and the French in Hawaii also receive due attention.

The book is well indexed, and the documentation leaves nothing to be desire. (PATRICK J. DIGNAN)

MOORE, PHILIP S. and CORBETT, JAMES A. *Petri Pictaviensis Allegoriae super Tabernaculum Moysi* [*Publications in Mediaeval Studies*, The University of Notre Dame, Ed. by Philip S. Moore, C.S.C., III]. (Notre Dame, Indiana. 1938. Pp. xxiii, 214.) In the first volume of the Notre Dame studies, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers, Master in Theology and Chancellor of Paris: 1193-1205*, (Notre Dame, 1936), Dr. Moore called attention to the writings of a number of masters in theology during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries especially at Paris. Insisting that these works were of importance in the development of medieval philosophy and theology, he urged that the

manuscripts containing them, at present widely scattered, be searched out, edited and published. This third volume of the Notre Dame series, published in collaboration with Professor James A. Corbett, contributes to the task thus outlined by presenting a critical edition of the *Allegoriae* of Peter of Poitiers. The significance of this particular work lies in its authorship as well as in its content. Peter of Poitiers was perhaps "the most faithful pupil of Peter Lombard." The *Allegoriae* falls into that category of writings concerned with the historical and allegorical interpretation of Holy Writ which formed a subsidiary part of the medieval theological curriculum. The editors have used seven of the nine known manuscripts. The other two are at present unobtainable. Since a full discussion of the significance of each of Peter of Poitiers's works can be found in Dr. Moore's earlier volume mentioned above, the brief introduction is sufficient. The notes are concerned mainly with textual variations. (MARSHALL W. BALDWIN)

LAWLER, THOMAS B. *Seventy Years of Textbook Publishing, A History of Ginn and Company, 1867-1937*. (Chicago: Ginn and Co. 1938. Pp. xii, 317. $3.00.) The title would not lead the reviewer to anticipate the intensely interesting material which is to be found within the covers of this book. The author's own estimate is that "these pages give at least a somewhat worthy view of the wide sweep of the activities of a firm engaged in publishing textbooks, the interesting problems it tries to solve, and the even more interesting personalities that have had a part in building for the firm the respect of the educational world during the past three score years and ten." But he has done more than this. His pungent comments, his subjective reactions to the trends of textbook publishing afford us a valuable insight into his own philosophy of education. The volume is punctuated with such asides as: "*Tempora mutantur*. The reign of Greek has long since past away. . . . Is the world losing something of culture and intellectual progress with the passing of the study of the Greek language?"

In the three hundred pages of the book, we have a panoramic view of the changes which have taken place in the philosophy, content, and methodology of education in the last seventy years. As one reads, the question inevitably arises: Is a textbook produced in response to a definite need in the teaching field, or does the appearance of a new text create a demand for the commodity?

It is a long cry from Madvig's *Latin Grammar* to the *Latin for Today Series*. On the other hand these words taken from the preface of Allen's *Latin Primer* published in 1870 might have been written by the latest exponent of the direct method.

> I do not see why (he says) intelligent children of ten or twelve, after the manner of forty or fifty years ago, should not learn Latin, and enjoy its simpler forms, which, indeed, seems the best possible introduction to a systematic course in school or college. But to secure this end, it must be taught, first of all, *as a living and flexible tongue*, not in the abstract principles and methods of its grammar; and secondly by familiar use in *narrative and dialogue*, not by committing to memory disjointed examples and dry forms. If we consent to regard it as a dead language, or study it as if it had no other than an antiquarian or scientific interest, we cannot long uphold the general study of it at all. An easy and familiar reading knowledge of a language is worth incomparably more to most students of it, than any supposed advantage in the study of its grammatical structure.

Again one wonders what the earlier authors of history texts, such as, Sheldon, Myers, and Montgomery would have thought of the integrated social science books of today. Montgomery's *Reading Facts of American History*, and Macy's *Our Government*, have little in common with the Ruggs' *Social Science Series*. And yet, looking back over the history of textbook writing the transition has been gradual and the outcome for better or for worse might have been forecast.

As for science this discipline seems to have passed through a complete cycle. To quote, "Before 1886 pupils had to be content with textbooks that were scarcely more than pleasing story books." This epoch was followed by a period during which textbooks and manuals were based upon the dictum, "Read nature in the language of experiment." But that ideal today has again given place to an era of general science based upon materials of instruction in broader fields of subject matter where once again the text partakes of the nature of a pleasing story book.

One lays down the book with a sense of bewilderment. Philosophers have pondered, scholars have written, teachers have experimented, textbooks have rolled from the presses, but alas what has been the resulting educational product! (SISTER M. CELESTE)

MCDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS. *Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis.* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 186. $3.00.) The purpose of this study, in the words of its author, is "to show the intellectual state of Saint Louis in its earliest days and of those who settled there in the eighteenth century." It is a by-product, something in the nature of a preparatory work for adequate biographies of Pierre LaClède and the first Chouteaus, founders of what has come to be known to dwellers in Middle America as "The Capital of the 49th State."

Professor McDermott has combed the original sources of social history for evidences of the cultural conditions during the first forty years of the city's history, 1764-1804. *The French and Spanish Archives of Saint Louis* and the *Records of the Probate Courts of Saint Louis* and of *Saint Charles County* contain the records of estates, including booklists and sale-records. A laborious search extending over a number of years enabled the author to present for inspection titles from the libraries of thirty-seven individuals who died before 1804, together with twenty-four more who lived for longer or shorter periods after that date but had resided in Saint Louis before 1800. The booklists vary greatly in length, a few having but a single title—rather indefinite even, at times—and one, the longest, 170 titles. The latter is a catalog of the library of Auguste Chouteau (died 1829), which contained more than 600 volumes. Of all these early libraries only one, that of Antoine François Saugrain, has been substantially preserved intact to the present day. The 320 volumes in this collection have been carefully and adequately cataloged from the books themselves in Dr. McDermott's volume.

In contrast to the ease of listing Saugrain's library, must have been the innumerable difficulties encountered in reconstructing satisfactory lists from the *Archives* and *Probate Court Records*. Poor script, lack of knowledge on the part of the scribe, but especially incomplete data regarding titles and

authors listed were countless sources of difficulty. It is evident from every page of Professor McDermott's book that he employed every source of information in his effort to establish the identity of even the vaguest title. His conjectures are fortified by plausible reasons, briefly given, and embodying a fund of information about authors, titles, editions, evaluations, sidelights, and intriguing reflections. Titles are frequently traced through one or more sales, thus affording an insight into who purchased what and from whom and at what price. A deal of accurate information is brought to light about many details of cultural interest. The practice in modern book auctions of lumping five to ten books together without giving details about individual titles is seen to have been in vogue. It is curious to note the variety of subjects treated in the books listed. Nearly all fields of knowledge are represented. Religious books, as the author notes, are not so numerous in these lists as they are in catalogs of books owned by the early inhabitants of the eastern United States. Though the majority of early settlers of Saint Louis were Catholics, they apparently had no scruples about possessing books that were anti-Catholic in spirit. Most of the books are naturally in French, though other languages are represented.

Brief biographical sketches introduce each list of books, often throwing light on the character of the books, and these, in turn, not infrequently afford an index to the character of the owner. The introductory essay, "Cultural conditions on the confines of a wilderness" (pp. 1-22) disposes rather effectively of the legend, fathered by no less a literary light than Washington Irving and repeated many times by subsequent writers, that Saint Louis in 1810 was "a frontier settlement, picturesque but only half-civilized." The booklists, of course, form the substantial evidence on which the author's views are based.

In view of the character of much of the book's contents, especially the innumerable details in the bibliographical sections of the text, it is not surprising that some slight misprints and errors escaped detection. There are no serious blemishes. In general, the book reflects great credit on the author for his meticulous care in searching out, arranging and evaluating so much difficult source material, on the Johns Hopkins Press for the typographical excellence and artistic format of the volume, and, finally, on the sponsor, the Institut Français de Washington for making available a worthwhile contribution to our knowledge of the cultural background of an important center of civilization in Middle America. (HENRY H. REGNET)

OGG, DAVID. *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*. 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xi, 575. $3.75.) This volume, one in the series, *The History of Europe*, edited by E. Lipson, was first published in 1925. In this third edition the author has brought the well classified bibliography up to date, and made changes in the work which he describes in the preface as "extensive" (vii). The reader is given frequent references in footnotes to the monographic literature on the seventeenth century which attest the author's wide reading. The survival of the papacy is a subject of some wonderment to Mr. Ogg. On one occasion he feels he has the explanation in part by reason of the fact that the 17th century popes were devoid of "spectacular views" and

"were for the most part mediocrities" (p. 399). Another reason for the papacy having endured is perhaps the quiet and unobtrusive character of a number of the pontiffs of that period such as Alexander VII! (p. 404).

While the greater part of the volume deals with political and diplomatic history it is not narrowly so. Mr. Ogg devotes two chapters to the social and political institutions of the 17th century and to the progress in science and philosophy. Another long chapter tackles the Jesuit and Jansenist quarrel. In this Mr. Ogg has made an effort to be fair to both parties in that highly controversial affair, though his ideas on the obscurantist and static policies of the Holy See might be somewhat altered if he had recourse to the volumes of Pastor treating that subject. Pastor incidentally finds no place either in the footnotes or the bibliography. There are four uncolored maps and a satisfactory index. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

MCNABB, VINCENT, O.P., S.T.M. *The Church and Reunion.* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1937. Pp. x, 236. 6s.) In this volume are gathered various contributions to periodicals, English and American, ranging from 1902 to 1936. All are concerned with the reunion of Anglicans to the Church and there is in them much that will be of help to those who are called on to answer the questions or objections of Anglicans. Their value is enhanced by the Christian charity which pervades them, in accordance with the dictum of Cardinal Mercier, "If Faith has its rights, Charity has its duties."

But already the papers here collected—at least the earlier ones—strike the reader as a little outmoded and outdated. The Great War is a wall of separation between the present and that time (how far away it seems!) when Mallock was writing and the papal decision on Anglican Orders was a topic of heated discussion. The reader closes the book with the feeling that he has been listening to voices from the dead, or, like Henry Esmond, "as one who had been walking below the sea, and treading amidst the bones of shipwrecks." Compared with the formidable enemies we are facing now, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, the Church of England is a minor consideration, and we have neither time nor inclination to turn aside from the tremendous issues of the day to answer such questions as whether Rome can be persuaded to make Canterbury a patriarchal see or whether ritualists have any right to the Use of Sarum. On Anglicanism we have said all we have to say. If Anglicans persist in pinning their faith to a religion which falsifies history, ignores logic, and outrages common sense we can only pray for them. We are too busy with important matters to do any more. Another cataclysm like that of 1914-1918 will probably reduce the Church of England to a position in which it will be of little, if any, more practical concern than Montanism or the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. (EDWIN RYAN)

MOORE, ERNEST CARROLL. *The Story of Instruction.* Two Volumes. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1936-1938. Pp. 380; x, 575. $6.00.) The author of this work in two volumes is the founder of the University of California at Los Angeles and at present the Vice-President and Provost of the institution. This history is what the title indicates—the story of how each generation in the past has tried to train and equip the rising generation to fit into the

social, political, and religious conditions of the society in which it lives. The story is told in an interesting and easy style and results in a thesaurus of information not only regarding school matters, but literary, philosophical, political, scientific, and religious matters as well.

The first volume deals with the beginnings of instruction in the days of ancient Greece and Rome and presents an engaging account of the intellectual and social training of youth against a background of pertinent quotations from the classical writers of the period. The second volume carries the story forward through the Christian period down through the Reformation and Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century. This volume is written for the most part around the biographies of central figures, Charlemagne, Abelard, Petrarch, Luther, and Ignatius Loyola.

Dr. Moore emphasizes the function of the Church in the civilization of Western Europe and shows a scholarly appreciation of its educational activities and accomplishments in the education of the European peoples. He regards the monks as "a race of heroes more heroic than those of ancient song and story" (p. 158). He asserts that there is danger that "we may underestimate the best services of these men" and reminds the reader that the monastic teachers of the Carolingian period kept the literary tradition alive, cultivating the *trivium* and *quadrivium* as Cassiodorus had arranged them (p. 181). "Though the tenth century was a dark age in France," he says, "schools did not cease to exist nor were men lacking who took a vigorous interest in them" (p. 231).

The chapter on Luther and the Reformation contains a citation (pp. 466-7) from Preserved Smith's *Martin Luther* which needs clarifying. This reference is relative to Archbishop Albert of Brandenburg concerning the indulgences proclaimed by Leo X. The so-called indulgence and confession letters (*confessionalia*) could, it is true, be obtained for payment alone, but the mere letter granted neither the forgiveness of sin nor the gaining of any indulgence. Contrition and confession were the recognized conditions for gaining the indulgence. As regards indulgences for the dead it is true that Tetzel proclaimed as Christian doctrine that nothing but an offering of money was required to gain them. The papal bull of indulgence gave no sanction whatever to this proposition. It was a vague scholastic opinion and not a doctrine of the Church. Cardinal Cajetan declared that even if theologians and preachers teach such no faith need be given them. The statement (p. 462) that Leo X died of poison is historically untrue. Pope Leo died of malignant malaria.

The last chapter contains an outline of the missionary and educational activities of the Jesuits. The author has analyzed well the *Constitutions* of the Society and the system of the Jesuit educators but draws the startling conclusion that "the training of the mind was their great claim; but the mind was not trained, only habituated to taking orders" (p. 560). The fact is the Jesuit educator was deeply conscious of the function of the teacher to teach. A very profitable study might be made today of the overemphasis on pupil activity in the teaching process and its corollary of creative thinking on a large scale.

These two volumes give abundant evidence of the author's scholarly familiarity with the subject matter and should prove interesting reading not only to the student of educational history but to the general reader as well. (FRANK P. CASSIDY)

PHILBRICK, FRANCIS S. (Ed.). *Pope's Digest 1815.* (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Library. 1938. Pp. xii, 304.) Nathaniel Pope, a brother of Senator John Pope of Kentucky and father of Major General John Pope of the Civil War, was born in Louisville, Kentucky, January 5, 1774, and died January 22, 1850. From November 30, 1818 to the date of his death he served as United States District Judge for Illinois. Judge Pope compiled the first digest of the statutes of Illinois.

Judge Pope's *Digest*, originally published June 2, 1815, at Kaskaskia, Illinois, is edited by Professor Philbrick. The material of the sections of the various chapters are indicated in the wide margin in black type. An introduction of seventy pages treats of 'Pope's Digest and its successors,' the 'Revised Laws of 1815,' and the 'Statutory Revision from 1815 to 1845.' In this compact account of the early legal history of the territory and state of Illinois, Professor Philbrick describes the nature of the different revisions, carefully analyzes the historical material bearing on the subject and sketches the character and legal contributions of the governors and jurists who promoted or participated in the revision and codification of the laws of Illinois. An index embracing pages 325 to 356 epitomizes the material of the *Digest* under chapter-heads arranged in alphabetical order. Excellent documentation is provided by copious pithy notes. In note one, page xxxi of the introduction, is a biography of United States Senator Elias Kent Kane whose death is by several authorities fixed as December 12, 1835. A letter of Reverend Benedict Roux dated April 29, 1836, was addressed to a confrere at St. Marys, the Barrens, Perry County, Missouri. Writing from Kaskaskia where he was pastor of the Catholic Church, Father Roux made this statement, "The remains of the worthy Senator Kane have been brought up here this morning. We wish to celebrate for the rest of his soul a funeral service the most solemnly we can. It will take place tomorrow morning (April 30, 1836) about 10 o'clock. If you could send me here either Mr. Wiseman or Mr. Raho and a seminarist, altogether with deacon and subdeacon tunicks for this ceremony, you would oblige me not a little." (Archives of the University of Notre Dame)

Despite the quaint phraseology and spelling of Reverend Benedict Roux, it appears that 'the worthy Senator' and Senator Elias Kent Kane are identical.

Professor Philbrick's publication will be of interest not only to the student of legal lore, but also to all who wish to understand the general trend of Illinois history inseparable from the evolution of the state's legislation. (THOMAS F. CLEARY)

PRESTAGE, EDGAR. *Portugal and the War of the Spanish Succession, A Bibliography with some Diplomatic Documents.* (Cambridge: at The University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. viii, 42. $1.15.) This bibliography contains items listed under Printed Documents, Contemporary

Printed Narratives, and Later Printed Narratives. The wealth of manuscript material, largely unused, in London, Paris, Lisbon, Evora, and Spain, is shown or indicated in the fourth and most important subdivision, Contemporary Manuscript Material. The bibliography consists of eight pages and the six appendices, translations of documents, of twenty-nine pages. Professor Prestage's translations of extracts from the *Instrucções ineditas* . . . and the *Memorias* by D. Luis da Cunha and Questions of D. Luis da Cunha are from Portuguese publications of the 1930's, given in the bibliography. The other three appendices, instructions to the Conde de Tarouca, appeared in a Portuguese publication after these translations were in proof. Inasmuch as D. Luis de Cunha was probably Portugal's most famous envoy, representing Portugal in England from 1696 to 1712 and at the Congress of Utrecht, and Conde de Tarouca was Portugal's first plenipotentiary to the Congress, this bibliography and these extracts are important. They indicate sources that were either unknown or not printed before, the activity of contemporary Portuguese scholars, and the possibility of having eventually a comprehensive study of Portugal's part in the War and the Peace. (MARY LUCILLE SHAY)

QUALEY, CARLTON C. *Norwegian Settlement in the United States.* (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1938. Pp. vii, 285. $3.00.) In this study Dr. Qualey has undertaken to show the westward movement in terms of Norwegian immigrant activity. By way of introduction he reviews all too briefly the causes of immigration. Although these do not fall within the stated purpose of the book, their inclusion might well have merited more space and clarification.

Launching upon the main course of the study the author relates the migrations of the Norwegian settlers along what became rather well-defined routes as individual families and entire colonies sought new and still newer homes in the west and far west. In this pageant which moved along rivers and across prairies, the author brings out the activities of the trail blazers and advance agents who sought out new Utopias and returned to the settlements of Illinois and Wisconsin to lead the settlers to the Dakotas, distant Texas or the Pacific slope. Throughout most of the account of the treks, land and hunger for it were the impelling forces. The necessary adjustments accompanying the establishment of a home and a farm among the wooded valleys and rolling hills of Wisconsin and the new environment of the flat uninviting prairies of the Dakotas are portrayed.

The chapters on Michigan and Islands, particularly the former, reveal immigrant interests other than agricultural and offer a change in subject material, if not in manner of presentation, which the reader will welcome. Adequate charts and maps accompany the account although the interpretation of the former could well be improved to relate in a fascinating style what has been set down as figures and curves transcribed into statements.

While the study presents an important phase of the Norwegian-American life, based on a voluminous amount of valuable material (as indicated in the bibliography), the account lacks the life and vigor which such a saga merits. No doubt the author discovered during the period of preparation that the material at his command could not adequately be compassed in the present

volume. Consequently failure to stress the importance of community leaders and what might be termed minor, yet important occupations, may be attributed to lack of space rather than of information and understanding.

A final observation reveals the interesting fact that while the Norwegians were impelled by land hunger to seek new homes and consequently were bound to inhabit territory still frequented by Indians, they seldom if ever engaged in Indian warfare but preferred to await the legal opening of a territory to settlement. (C. N. EVANSON)

RICE, HOWARD C. *Barthélemi Tardiveau, A French Trader in the West.* [*Institut Français de Washington, Historical Documents,* Cahier XI.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 90. $2.25.) Barthélemi Tardiveau was one of the picturesque characters who came to the Illinois country, to what the Americans called "the West" before the Louisiana Purchase. The purpose of this study is to make known the personality and activities of this adventurer. Tardiveau "is not a highly important historical figure," Mr. Rice says in the introduction, but his letters and his career give a better understanding of the average man's aspirations in the middle of the rival interests of the United States, France, England and Spain, then planning, scheming, intriguing for the possession of the Mississippi. Tardiveau was a frontiersman. He did not, however, conform to the traditional pattern of the frontiersman popularized by the novel and the film. In the words of Count de Moustier, minister plenipotentiary from France to the United States, he was "a Philosopher, a Politician, and a Trader. His conversation is interesting, but he writes even better than he talks. . . . It is hard to know what one should admire the most—his courage or his patience, or his ease in imitating successively the Abbé Raynal's style or Pope's harmonious touch." He was indeed a *philosophe* stranded in the American wilderness. He took exception to one of the tenets of his mentors. After having consorted for five years with the noble savages and with natural men, he thought it was time for a change, because such a savage country "offered no scope for his talents." But Tardiveau was a faithful disciple of his masters in that he was an internationalist. Any country, whether France, America, or Spain, was good enough for him provided it helped him to rebuild his fortune. He became successively agent for the Illinois settlers, dabbled in the New Bourbon scheme, and finally landed in New Madrid — becoming Don Bartolomé Tardiveau — where he died in 1801.

This eleventh cahier of the French Institute of Washington is divided into two parts. Mr. Rice gives the story of Tardiveau in the first from the letters of the trader to his friend, St. John de Crèvecoeur, rounding up the narrative with information derived from many quarters. In the appendix, the second part, are found the French originals of the letters translated in the first. Although, at times, one might question the English rendering of certain words, for instance, *charivari, goupillon,*—the translation is remarkable in that the spirit, the tone of the letters has been faithfully preserved. Letter 6 is an excellent sample of the *fin de siècle* literature about to be swept away by the Revolution. A map, a broadside, a facsimile of one of Tardiveau's letters, and three engravings add further attractiveness to the book. (JEAN DELANGLEZ)

RING, GEORGE C., S.J. *Gods of the Gentiles: Non-Jewish Cultural Religions of Antiquity.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. xvi, 349. $3.50.) Father Ring has here given us a very readable and very scholarly account of the religious concepts and observance of the five great ancient civilizations that flourished in the areas bordering on and adjacent to the Mediterranean: the Assyro-Babylonian, the Persian, the Egyptian, the Greek, and the Roman. Due space is devoted to the general cultural background of the religious phenomena. Special attention is paid to historical sequence. The author throughout confines himself to a review of the empirical data. Interpretations are consistently restrained and cautious. Theological and ethical evaluations are avoided. The work is descriptive and historical in tone and purpose, not apologetic. "A sufficient apologetic will be evident even in the historical treatment of the fact." (p. 93)

The style is both limpid and vivid. Out of the enormous mass of available data the author has skilfully chosen those that can best bring home the realities to the general reader without in any sense distorting them. The reviewer can only hope that other readers will derive as much pleasure and benefit from this study as he has derived.

The eight line-cuts and the thirty-two superb full-page plates add much to the value of the work, as do the excellent selected bibliographies and the full index. In general format the volume is a model of the book-making art. (JOHN M. COOPER)

RIPPY, J. FRED (Tr. and Ed.). *History of Colombia.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 578. $5.00.) This is the second volume to appear of *The Inter-American Historical Series.* It is an abridged and adapted translation of the two-volume Spanish work written jointly by Jesús María Henao and Gerardo Arrubla and entitled *Historia de Colombia para la Enseñanza Secundaria,* the fifth edition of which was published in 1929. Besides writing a final chapter which brings the history of Colombia down to the present day, Professor Rippy has modified the original text considerably, omitting or abridging certain portions and not only supplying all of the chapter headings but also changing the chapter numbers and the broad division of the original work. Both the limitations of space and the needs of students in the United States seemed to call for such alterations. These being duly indicated, it will be easy for students conversant with Spanish to go to the original two-volume work for the fuller detailed account of Colombia's interesting and stirring history.

In its present English dress, the *History of Colombia* is divided into four Parts. Part I (pp. 1-196), "Conquest and Colonial Régime," covers the colonial period down to 1810. Part II (pp. 199-329), "Independence," begins with the Santa Fe revolt and ends with Bolivar's triumph at Boyacá in 1819. Part III (pp. 333-472), "Great Colombia and New Granada," deals with the Republic of Colombia under Bolivar, the establishment of the republic of New Granada, and the beginnings of radicalism. Part IV (pp. 475-549), "The Recent Period," depicts the struggle between radicalism and conservatism, ending with Professor Rippy's own chapter on "The Dawn of a New Era." There is a handy "List of Spanish Words used in the Text" and

a bibliography of works grouped under the headings of the four parts into which the work is divided.

Despite certain features of the volume to which one might with reason object, there can be no doubt that Professor Rippy has ably achieved the purpose for which he prepared and edited the Henao-Arrubla text and has thereby rendered a real service to teachers and students of Hispanic-American history. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

RUSTERHOLTZ, WALLACE P. *American Heretics and Saints.* (Boston: Manthorne & Burack. 1938. Pp. 362. $3.50.) Progressive liberals form the subject-matter of this book. The author, a young man in his twenties as the publishers' blurb assures us, collected extracts from the lives and works of fifteen men and one woman, Anne Hutchinson, piecing these together with remarks largely editorial in character. The book is hardly an anthology; but it has the makings of one. The machinery of scientific method is used throughout with copious footnotes and an extensive bibliography, the latter probably the best feature of the book. There is lacking what in a work of this kind would be truly invaluable: an index. So many subjects are treated in the extracts furnished and the quick changes go on with such breakneck pace, that the mind readily tires. It would be much easier to look up what this or that writer says on a given topic—religious topic, since the excerpts are chiefly that kind—and so to follow through a given line of thought.

But the persons: who are they? There are 16 of them, 'heretics and saints.' Is the term heretic too good for some men mentioned? One may hesitate about the use of the word to describe Tom Paine, Bob Ingersoll, Clarence Darrow. Is the term saint applicable to any of the figures chosen? No one can judge as to the internal forum; as to the external, one may be permitted to doubt it in several cases at least.

Take the first group made up of 17th century religious figures. There are John Robinson, spiritual evolutionist (a man who never set foot in America); Roger Williams, the first American; Anne Hutchinson, the early Emersonian; and Cotton Mather, the preacher and the doer of the word—the author's epithets for his progressives.

The 18th century heretics and saints, according to the author, are Benjamin Franklin, Yankee cosmopolitan (with several pages thrown in on Thomas Jefferson); Hosea Ballou, son of the loving God (plus a not inconsiderable treatment of Jonathan Edwards); James Freeman, pioneer Unitarian; and Thomas Paine, citizen of the universe.

For the 19th century, the group chosen is William Ellery Channing, gentleman reformer; Ralph Waldo Emerson, the noblest American; Theodore Parker, churchman militant; and Robert G. Ingersoll, modern prophet of the unknown. With such a selection and such qualifying expressions, the 20th century complement prepares the reader for more 'heretics and saints', or progressives as the author defines his terms: Clarence Darrow, champion of the prosecuted and persecuted; Harry Emerson Fosdick, who is Emerson again; John Haynes Holmes, community leader; and Charles Francis Potter, scientific religionist (with Harry Elmer Barnes, John Dietrich and Irving Babbitt filling out his final chapter).

These sketches and excerpts cannot be called biography, nor strictly religious history, nor straight reporting since the line of narrative is not kept straight—there are many kinks in it. Often there is eulogy, with a boyish freshness that is bracing, but so indiscriminate and so biased as to create an utter distrust of the author's judgment and conclusions. To the Catholic reader the author seems to seek out quotable passages that have an anti-Catholic slant; and he himself more directly reflects his anti-Catholicism in several instances.

The Roman Catholic Church is less tolerant and more militant now, to such an extent indeed that the traditional separation of Church and State in the United States is jeopardized (p. 4). Treating Roger Williams, the author takes occasion to digress for several paragraphs, including an attack on Pope Pius XI's encyclical on *Christian Education* (p. 25).

The Catholic schools, by the Supreme Court decision in the Oregon case, are constitutionally protected "as pieces of real estate" (p. 26). Catholics are said to be hostile to the separation of Church and State, thereby being un-American (p. 27). Catholics are faced with a dilemma between Americanism and Catholicism (p. 28). Cardinal O'Connell's honorary doctorate in laws from Harvard University in 1937 is condemned, though the author hints that he would not so utterly disapprove the bestowal of a doctorate in divinity upon His Eminence (p. 28).

The author quotes about as bad a passage as he can find against Rome in the works of Roger Williams (p. 31) (*Narr. Club Pub.*, VI, 405, 311). Father Talbot of *America* is called to book for an address made in New York in 1930 (p. 32). Catholic backing of censorship in the New York theatre is branded as the "fascistic tendency in America", and Puritanism it is, we are told, at its worst (p. 33).

The author notes James Freeman's slur on Catholicism, but Freeman still proved "amiable" because of his friendly relations with Bishop Cheverus of Boston (p. 105). The author is amused because a Roman Catholic bishop in 1844 in the *Catholic Magazine* published what he terms a fabricated account of Tom Paine's dying moments (p. 108). A point is made by this alleged anthologist of Paine's "devoutness" in refuting Father Gillis of the *Catholic World* (p. 140). But the relationship between William Ellery Channing and the Catholics of Boston is sympathetically pointed out, in spite of Channing's blast against "papal tyranny" in his epoch-making sermon at Baltimore in 1819 (p. 147).

But why go on? All in all, this is a cheap book. Where the writers speak for themselves, able minds in nearly all instances, something may sometimes be learned, a fresh point of view, however unorthodox, may be exhibited. But the editorializing is flippant at times, superficial often, almost never really getting down to first principles on the basis of which men may argue questions and settle difficulties. The Catholic historian who is taken up with the admissions and concessions of the more enlightened of our fellow non-Catholic historians and scholars may well check his enthusiasm by a perusal of this book. Here lies a twisted spirit, a bent twig, thoroughly antipathetic to almost everything Catholic—in fact it is hard to find a good word for the Catholic Church anywhere in this volume. And it may be well to note that this young man, librarian of the University of Buffalo, is not chronologically

of the old school of anti-papists. He is a recent M.A. from Harvard. But we are thankful to him for refusing to don the mask of hypocritical politeness or tolerance towards us. We know where he stands: that is something. Unfortunately, though he imagines the contrary, he cannot be said to know us very well. There's the pity. (JOHN L. BAZINET)

SETON-WATSON, R. W. *Britain in Europe (1789-1914), A Survey of Foreign Policy.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1937. Pp. x, 716. $9.00.) The end of British foreign policy is its beginning. Both were stated by Sir Edward Grey: "British Foreign Ministers have been guided by what seemed to them to be the immediate interest of this country, without making elaborate calculations for the future." Consequently, British statesmen have appeared now like bold interventionists, and again, like shrewd cautious isolationists. Is it surprising that continental friends and foes think of England in terms of "Perfidious Albion?"

According to Professor Seton-Watson, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 laid the foundations for British maritime expansion: the keystone of empire. The retention of Gibraltar and the temporary acquisition of Minorca placed a definite handicap upon Spain: while the demolition of Dunkirk, the transfer of the Spanish Netherlands to the sovereigny of Vienna, and the series of barrier treaties, relieved her of that menace to the independence of the Low Countries and to the freedom of the narrow seas which had provided the motive power of her resistance to Louis XIV. It is significant that the broad outlines of this policy still prevail.

William Pitt, architect of the Grand Coalition against Napoleon, could stand in the shadow of Neville Chamberlain, organizer of resistance to Hitler on the continent. It cannot reasonably be denied that the balance of power in Europe has for generations been the supreme maxim of British strategy, and that it asserted itself once more in the Great War—this time of course against Germany instead of France. "Next to a sure instinct for discouraging the rise of any omnipotent rival," writes the author, "British policy may be said to have thrown its weight from time to time into the European scales in order to secure virtual immunity for her overseas designs." Colonial issues of the first magnitude, he adds, have "repeatedly been decided in Europe." In ways mysterious to the people back home, in fits of "absence-of-mind," Asia and Africa were partitioned, with Britain usually securing the lion's share. "No empire was formed in a more casual and haphazard manner than the British—given the all-important factors of opportunity and private initiative."

Perhaps the real secret of foreign misunderstanding is the hesitation which has often asserted itself and led to Britain's temporary withdrawal—a hesitation due to the vague feeling that Britain is of Europe, and yet not of it. At the present writing, for example, who knows whether England's frontier is on the Rhine, on the Danube, or on the Vistula? The desire for isolation, the knowledge that it is impossible—these are the two poles between which the needle of the British compass continues to waver. In fine, the English channel, although not the Atlantic ocean, has more than once proved its usefulness as a Chinese wall against continental hatreds, jealousies, conflicts.

Castlereagh, Canning, Wellington, Aberdeen, Palmerston, Disraeli, Gladstone, Salisbury and Grey are full-size figures in this pageant of world politics. A most detailed survey is made of the period from 1822 to 1874. Prologue and Epilogue round out the picture. This is the first complete story of British foreign policy as distinct from general European diplomacy. Although not all manuscript, nor for that matter all public record sources have been exhausted in the preparation of this book, it represents a treasure-house of reliable information with a minimum of subjective interpretation. The index is adequate; the bibliography suggestive. (JOSEPH F. THORNING)

SHEED, F. J. *Communism and Man.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. Pp. 193. $2.00.) Dialectical materialism, expounded by Hegel and applied by Marx, is the starting point of this study. "There was a quality in that one man Marx that all the professors combined do not possess. For they remain professors: but he has changed the world." Would it be extravagant to say the same about Christians and Christ? At any rate, this home-thrust is a challenge to Catholic Action. Not that Frank Sheed is blind to the errors of Marxism. The author of the *Communist Manifesto* failed to foresee either the growth of labor organizations or the humanitarian outlook of a number of industrialists or the preoccupation of the modern state with housing, minimum-wage legislation, old-age pensions, medical care, and relief for the unemployed. "Ever since Marx's time," suggests Mr. Sheed, "more and more people have acquired some kind of share in the ownership of industry and consequently have acquired an interest in the maintenance of Capitalism." This observation has been strikingly confirmed by the research work of the Rev. Dr. Edward A. Keller, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame (*A Primer of Economics,* published in the *Congressional Record,* March 30, 1939, pp. 5010-11-12). Nevertheless, it remains true that "wherever the machinery of life presses too hard, still more wherever it breaks down, Communism stands as an alternative glowing with promise." With that decisive limitation, Karl Marx may be styled a prophet. He was no philosopher, inasmuch as he never revealed what he meant by man, or what he conceived matter to be. Divine revelation has no such reticences: man is "made to the image and likeness of God." This creature is also a rational, social animal. The contrast with a materialistic interpretation of the universe is evident. Our Christian commentator summarizes it all: "What was of permanent value in Marx lives on, separated from his errors, in *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno.*" How are the latter to be applied? The answer is apposite: "The workers have gained a hundred times more from the Trade Unions than from all the revolutions combined." In short, our place is beside the poor. (JOSEPH F. THORNING)

SHEEN, FULTON J. *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xiii, 187. $2.00.) It is refreshing to find a liberal who is aware of the dangers of license, a critic of Communism who vindicates the rights of labor and a religious leader who praises the constructive achievements of a number of American business men in the sphere of social justice. To be sure, Josef Stalin is exposed in this book as the most autocratic of the

totalitarian rulers. "Would we say we had liberty in the United States," Monsignor Sheen asks (p. 37), "if the President, within the space of three months, executed the governors of our forty-eight States; and yet this is precisely what the 'beloved Stalin' did, for he executed the heads of the Republics of the Soviet Union in three months." The organic connection between the American Communist Party, something glibly denied by Marxists on the Congressional witness-stand, is outlined with firm logic (pp. 95-97). The chapter on distribution is excellent. Instances of profit-sharing in industry are enumerated: a heartening example of how the exhortations of Pius XI in the *Quadragesimo Anno* have not gone entirely unheeded either by non-Catholics or Catholics. Apart from a few minor misprints (e. g., Moorhouse F. X. Millar for Moorhouse I. X. Millar and Violet Connally for Violet Connelly) the selected bibliography on Communism is authentic and adequate. (JOSEPH F. THORNING)

SMITH, WALDO E. L. *Episcopal Appointments and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II.* [*Studies in Church History*, Vol. III.] (Chicago: The American Society of Church History. 1938. Pp. xv, 144. $2.25.) Earlier historians dealing with the Avignon Papacy and its relations with contemporary national states treated these subjects on a grand scale; and paid scant attention to provincial and diocesan records, or to variations in papal policy and conduct. Sweeping charges of corruption, oppression and favoritism were often made against the Avignon popes, but little said in their favor. In recent years, however, more intensive and unbiassed researches have been checking the above charges and substantially adding to our knowledge. Through the use of additional sources, detailed attention has been given to the relations of these popes with individual countries, monarchs and localities during relatively narrow periods. Thus much new light has been thrown upon the motives, conditioning circumstances, policies and conduct of fourteenth century popes, as well as upon the contemporary relations of Church and State. In consequence, scholars now tend to view with somewhat more favor the reigns of the Avignon popes, without exculpating them completely. But before any definitive synthesis may be attempted for the Babylonian Captivity, many other intensive studies must be made. The present work endeavors to carry out such a project for the English Church from 1307 to 1327.

After sketching the background for English episcopal appointments before 1307, thirty-nine pages are devoted to subsequent appointments, with incidental information of value regarding conditions within the English Church. Chapter III then outlines the law and history of patronage, with particular reference to England. Charles IV treats in detail disputes between Edward II and the popes over patronage. Chapters V and VI, respectively, present special cases and a survey of patronage under Edward II; while pages 118-138 contain an appendix of extracts from documents, of which some were previously unedited. Then follow a short bibliography and a very incomplete index.

The book contains interesting and valuable sections on appointment procedure, royal and papal policies, individual cases, and the influence of English factions and other intriguers upon ecclesiastical appointments in England.

But the author has neglected to use pertinent materials in the *Regesta* of Clement V and John XXII, as well as in certain works on canon law, papal policy, administration, finance, and relations with national or local churches. By omitting large numbers of normal appointments, there is over-emphasis upon disputed cases for the ranks below that of bishop; hence, the proportion of papal to royal appointees to benefices is not determined. Nor does Doctor Smith offer adequate generalizations regarding the extent of unfitness, absenteeism, disregard of or dispensation from canonical requirements, and of foreigners among appointees. By such neglect, he has passed up excellent opportunities for employing contemporary English source-materials as criteria for judging the policies and conduct of Clement V, John XXII and Edward II. (THOMAS P. OAKLEY)

Sous le joug hitlérien. La révolte des consciences. (Paris: Maison de la bonne presse. 1937. Pp. 127.)—FREY, ARTHUR. *Cross and Swastika. The Ordeal of the German Church.* Translated by J. STRATHEARN MCNAB. (London: Student Christian Movement Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. 224. $2.50.) The first of these publications, a slender volume of anonymous authorship and with a slightly bombastic title, is devoid of historical value, as its statements are frequently based on unverifiable rumors. Rarely the facts reported are substantiated by documentary evidence, and in many instances definite references to time and place are wanting. The impression is created that the contents of the booklet have mostly been compiled from newspaper reports which have been accepted on their face value. Typically journalistic expressions suggest this source. In fact unidiomatic phrasing would indicate that much of the material has been translated from German language papers, but here also the booklet leaves us entirely in the dark.

In contrast with the previously mentioned volume, the work of Dr. Frey possesses a strictly scientific character though, as the author remarks in the preface, notes and literary references have been dispensed with in the text in order to render the book more readable.

In the interests of objectivity the original sober, yet quite adequate title, *The Struggle of the Evangelical Church in Germany and its General Significance,* might have been retained, because the author has no desire to cater to sensationalism, as he explicity states: "The matters at issue are too serious to permit the writer to succumb to the temptation of playing up, in a sensational fashion, particularly painful and distressing incidents in which this conflict abounds." This, however, must not be construed as meaning that the author acts the part of a dispassionate and uninterested observer, on the contrary, he has unequivocally taken sides and leaves no doubt about his attitude.

Analysing National Socialism the author comes to the conclusion that its constituent elements, the idea of the Totalitarian State and the German Faith, which finds its most perfect embodiment in Rosenberg's *The Myth of the Twentieth Century,* existed in German thought long before the advent of the Third Reich, and that National Socialism itself is the logical outcome of an ideological evolution in Germany dating back about two centuries. The idea of the Totalitarian State is traced to the German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel who sets forth an absolutistic theory of the State and declares

that the State is the Divine, existing in and for itself, invested with absolute authority and majesty, and representing the very incarnation of the Deity. If on the one hand the author sees in Hegel the originator of the totalitarian ideology, on the other hand, he looks upon Johann Gottlieb Fichte as the sponsor of Rosenberg's racial religion, for in his *Addresses to the German Nation*, Fichte taught the Germans: "Among all peoples you are the one in which the germ of human perfectibility is most definitely contained." The first scientific exposition of Anti-Semitism, which eventually led to a rejection of the Old Testament, and thus to a repudiation of the historical foundation of the Christian revelation, the author discovers in the writings of Paul de Lagarde and in Houston Stewart Chamberlain's notorious *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. Nor can the masses of the working population be absolved from responsibility for this ideological development, for, writes the author: "The masses of the German working class were as nationalistically inclined as the middle class circles. So we must assert that the decisive idea which was gaining strength in the German people in the course of the nineteenth century was neither democracy nor socialism, but nationalism, belief in the German nation." According to the author, the Evangelical Church must likewise assume a full measure of responsibility for the growth of these ideas. Endeavoring to accommodate itself to the spirit of the times, it showed itself too ready to make concessions and lost sight of the biblical word, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." During the long period in which throne and altar were intimately united, it became too much the subservient and uncritical helpmate of the State. It was no longer the Church, knowing only one Lord, but became the handmaid of very worldly lords and worldly powers. The author claims that the Evangelical Church always gave support to the nationalistic movement, and so encouraged the rise of racism. Hence, it is not surprising that at the critical moment many of its members joined the national-socialistic movement, since it promised a defeat both of Communism and the so-called political Catholicism. Except for an occasional slur on political Catholicism, and the rather cryptical remark that "it is the trouble with the Roman Catholic Church in Germany that it certainly has command on all sides and in all directions of Church doctrine, but not of confessing congregations," the author does not concern himself with questions bearing on the Catholic Church.

In the sixth and seventh chapters, the author, animated by an unquenchable optimism, draws a glowing picture of an inwardly renewed religious community, which is built on Christ alone, and on the Word of God, "the Word of the authority of grace, which constitutes the source, the rule and the touchstone of all human authority." The successive phases of the battle of this new church, which the author calls the "Confessional Church" (*Bekenntniskirche*), against the encroachments of the worldly power are described in detail, and the declarations of the synods of this Confessional Church, held in Barmen, May, 1934, at Dahlem, October, 1934, and other official pronouncements are given either in full or in characteristic excerpts.

The struggle of the Evangelical Church now going on in Germany has, in the mind of the author, a significance which transcends the religious sphere and is fraught with political and cultural issues. The political importance of

the struggle will be appreciated when it appears that the Church's resistance to the totalitarian claim of the State to-day is the only effective barrier to State omnipotence. "Face to face with the Church," says the author, "the National Socialist State comes up against its boundary." The vaster cultural meaning of the struggle will emerge when the Church proves itself the bulwark of human liberty, for, writes the author, "it has come to light during these last years in Germany that, when an epoch of force approaches, the Church knows how to become the sanctuary of freedom."

The book does not make easy reading, and presupposes a certain degree of historical and philosophical knowledge, but it affords the thoughtful reader a real insight into the etiology of the momentous struggle which is taking place in Germany, and about which many talk, but which few, especially in this country, understand in its underlying causes and its genesis.

Karl Barth, who wrote the introduction to the original edition, has favored the English version with an additional preface. From this we learn that Arthur Frey is not a professional theologian, but a political economist, and that, moreover, he is not a citizen of the German Reich, but of Switzerland. It is the opinion of Dr. Barth that English readers will be especially interested in the fact that Dr. Arthur Frey, in spite of his intellectual pursuits, is enthusiastically devoted to sport, and "that he is an expert exponent of and an authority on the national form of wrestling, which is certainly not unknown to some travellers in Switzerland." (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

STEINER, ARPAD. *Vincent of Beauvais, De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 32]*. (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America. 1938. Pp. xxxii, 236. $3.50.) Through an unfortunate combination of circumstances Vincent of Beauvais's great Christian treatise on education, compiled for the children of St. Louis, has remained inaccessible and relatively unknown. Some portions of it, usually without many of the scriptural and other citations, are found in Vincent's better known works. Copies of these have far outnumbered the manuscripts of the *De Eruditione*. Editions and translations of the latter have been scarce and inadequate. Moreover both William Perrault and Aegidius Romanus borrowed heavily from Vincent's treatise in works which soon had greater currency. As a consequence Professor Steiner has performed a service in making available a critical edition of the *De Eruditione*, a work which "contains in a fairly unified and manageable system the whole of Vincent's pedagogy, otherwise widely scattered in the immense forest of the *Speculum Maius*." The introduction and critical apparatus give evidence of scholarly competence. The mediaeval Academy is to be congratulated on the attractive appearance of the volume. (MARSHALL W. BALDWIN)

STEWARD, JULIAN H. *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*. (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 120. 1938. Pp. xii, 346. $0.50.) In this splendid monograph D. Steward describes the economic, social and political culture of the Shoshoni and Paiute Indians of the Great Basin area and portions of the adjacent Columbia and Colorado

Plateaus, and endeavors to ascertain the ecological and social factors or determinants which have conditioned or produced these cultural patterns. Most of the data presented and discussed were gathered through his field studies in the region during 1935 and 1936. While the monograph falls strictly within the science of technical cultural anthropology, it has significance as well for the historian. The latter is interested in the factors and determinants of economic, social and political types, but the kinds of society with which he deals are as a rule so enormously complex that the isolation of such factors tends to be a peculiarly difficult if not baffling task. However, among simpler societies, such as these Basin-Plateau groups, with a purely hunting and gathering economy and with a low population density, there is a better chance of analysing out the responsible factors or determinants of the sociopolitical set-up. Dr. Steward in this very thorough and scholarly study has, in the reviewer's judgment, broken a great deal of new ground and made notable contributions towards the solution of this basic anthropological and historical problem. (JOHN M. COOPER)

VANN, GERALD, O.P. *Morals Makyth Man.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1938. Pp. xii, 240. $2.50.) This volume from the pen of the well known Dominican philosopher is in part an elaboration of papers read to the Aquinas Societies in England. Other chapters have appeared in various English periodicals. For this reason, the volume lacks much of the unity that one would expect in a subject of this kind. The chief purpose of the author is to ascertain the general rational principles at the root of human nature and to make thereafter their application to the conflicting theories of conduct, of fascism, communism, liberalism, arts, industrialism, peace, sex, and suffering. Obviously, this is a wide field and the author has succeeded in varying degrees of effectiveness.

In the first part of his work the author indicates the need of definite principles in view of the present confusion. Accepting the Thomist's solution based upon the fact of God's existence and man's fundamental relation to God, he considers especially the problems of man's right to freedom and his search for happiness. To this part of his work Father Vann brings his thorough mastery of Thomistic philosophy and theology to achieve a refreshing clearness of judgment. With this as his background, he is able to make a very definite contribution to the themes he selects for applications of his principles. Some of the current attitudes upon these themes are seen in all their chaotic fallacy when placed alongside the clearly rational approach of the great philosopher and theologian of the 13th century. This volume deserves a wide reading for the timeliness of its themes, the urbanity of its treatment, and the general soundness of its judgments. (CHARLES A. HART)

WALSH, JAMES J., M.D., Ph.D., Litt.D. *High Points of Medieval Culture.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1937. Pp. xi, 274. $2.75.) Culture in the form of educational opportunities, excellent schools, and advanced methods of education was widespread in the Middle Ages. This is the contention of the present volume and it is supported by much factual information concerning the development of education under popes and kings from

around 500 to the 10th century. The help and influence of the Irish Schools and the monastic schools of Bec and Cluny is indicated, the curriculum of the medieval universities and the appreciation which has been accorded it of late is treated at some length, and the methods of teaching formulated by Vegio, Bartholomew, and Vittorino da Feltre are given much attention. The range and depth of medieval culture is exemplified by the magnificent cathedrals which arose in this period, and by the wide variety of subjects and the expert craftsmanship manifested in the manuscript books and incunabula which appeared before 1480. St. Thomas Aquinas, Dante and, St. Francis of Assisi have been given the place they deserve in a discussion of this kind and the entire book shows a nicety in selection of subject matter which should appeal to the interest of the general reader and lead him to further inquiries in this field. The book is sparsely annotated and contains neither index nor bibliography. (JOHN P. MCGOWAN)

WILLIAMS, MARY WILHELMINE. *The People and Politics of Latin America.* New Edition. (New York: Ginn and Co. 1938. Pp. xi, 889. $4.60.) Having carefully compared this new edition of Dr. Williams's well known college text with the 1930 edition, the present reviewer fails to see how in it "The first edition has been thoroughly revised, numerous changes being made for the sake of clarity and accuracy" (p. v). That additions, "covering the last eight years of Latin-American history," have been made, is correct. Other new features in the shape of maps and illustrations certainly contribute to the greater attractiveness of this new edition. The text itself, however, remains entirely unchanged, barring the matter of the last eight years already noted. To such, therefore, as were looking in this new edition for certain desirable alterations the volume will probably prove rather disappointing. The chapter on "The Church in the Spanish Indies" with its misleading and erroneous statements clamors for a thorough revision. Also terms of expression like "religious fanaticism" (p. 216), "bigoted" (p. 248), "bigotry" (p. 486), "Roman Church" (*passim*) should be avoided. The same is true of chapter XX on "Mexico: Empire and Republic." In this chapter the author disregards some extremely vital issues concerning the Catholic Church. Until the text is revised, really and thoroughly, as to matters of this kind, the volume under review can not be recommended for use in Catholic schools. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

WILLIAMS, MARY WILHELMINE. *Dom Pedro The Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 414. $3.50.) In this handsome and charming volume Dr. Williams tells the life story of a monarch who was exceptionally close to the people, who had an eye and a heart for the spiritual as well as the material welfare of those who loved and respected him as their rightful ruler. It is the human side of Dom Pedro's life and activity that the author portrays most charmingly, engendering thereby in the heart of her readers a deep reverence for Brazil's second emperor and strongly suggesting the thought that perhaps it would have been just as well for Brazil if it had remained a monarchy. The volume is heavily documented, enriched with numerous

interesting photographic reproduction, and beautifully made up in point of printing and binding. For tireless research, clarity of portrayal, neatness of style and diction, and careful interpretation the work under review is a distinct contribution to both polite literature and to historical scholarship. It richly deserves the praise it has already received from reviewers and is hereby recommended to all who would read a reliable and attractive biography of the monarch whose memory will always be dear to the heart of every liberty-loving Brazilian. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

WOODWARD, E. L. *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870.* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1938. Pp. xix, 656. $6.00.) This is the thirteenth volume of the new *Oxford History of England*, five volumes of which have already appeared. It is a work which will be welcomed by all interested in the history of the early and mid-century. The scope of this book by Mr. Woodward, Fellow of All Souls College at Oxford, is a broad one. There is no important aspect of the development of England and her chief colonial possessions that is not covered. A good third of the volume is devoted to cultural history which surveys the progress of religion, education, literature, and the arts through the decades following the Vienna peace. The volume gains merit from the excellent and up-to-date bibliographies to which is added some critical comment. There are six maps, one of the canals of England and Wales taken from a map of 1810 and another of the railway system after a map of the year 1847. Another worthwhile feature is the list of the cabinets that ruled England from that of Liverpool formed in June, 1812 to Gladstone's first cabinet formed in December, 1868. The volume contains a very good index. The numerous footnotes give further explanation of persons and events mentioned in the narrative, and point in many cases to the best monographs on these subjects. Altogether this work will prove most helpful to the student of the 19th century as a book rich in facts and judicious in interpretation. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

WUORINEN, JOHN H. *The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1655. An Essay in American Colonial History.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 167. $1.25.) Within the compass of a hundred-odd pages of an octavo volume, Dr. Wuorinen has brought out the participation of the Finns in the colonial era of Delaware to establish with scholarly ethics the contributions of this race to a venture which has usually been attributed primarily, if not entirely, to the Swedes. The very use of the term Sweden-Finland, which the author justifies by an historical explanation of the intimate relationships of the two peoples through the influx of Finns into Sweden, establishes his thesis which is developed skillfully, but conservatively, in a style which seldom if ever fails to hold the reader's genuine interest as the narrative unfolds.

The sponsorship for the Delaware project differed very little from the economic interest which provided the impetus for colonial ventures by other nations. The Dutch influence in Sweden added commercial zest and capable leadership, and what was then a Swedish staple, namely copper, was a definite factor in the development of the commercial interest in the New World.

The Swedish-Finnish undertakings bear a striking resemblance to those of other nations in that capital was difficult to obtain, expenses exceeded estimates, and returns on investments fell far short of all expectations. The national element was also included as an important factor in the colonial plans and resulted in the military occupation of territory and the building of forts, a procedure which particularly aroused the Dutch. The success of occupation depended to a great extent on the establishment of settlements, especially agricultural in character but it is on this point that the policy failed, despite the fact that some immigrants were "enticed" (p. 57, n. 6) to seek homes in Delaware. The failure of adequate settlement is explained particularly by the author in the death of Klas Fleming and the subsequent appointment of Chancellor Oxenstierna, a man apparently preoccupied with many affairs of state, as director of the project. The quotation from Governor Johan Printz (p. 67 ff.) further helps to clarify the point in terms of poor crops, Indian troubles, and Dutch hostility, but most significantly as indifference on the part of the home government.

Like other nationalities the Finns brought certain cultural and religious heritages with them to the New World and made certain contributions, perhaps most notably in the field of clearing the land of forests and underbrush for agriculture. With the Dutch conquest in 1655 and the subsequent English regime, beginning in 1664, the people of the Delaware region enjoyed more security and gradually became amalgamated as a part of the "more compelling and more dramatic story of a new nation in the making" (p. 118). The appendix contains materials relative to the Delaware Tercentenary. The book has an adequate index but no bibliography, although frequent reference to source materials would stimulate further study. (C. N. EVANSON)

Writings on American History, 1934. Compiled by GRACE GARDNER GRIFFIN, DOROTHY M. LOURAIN and KATHERINE M. TATE. [*Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1934.*] (Washington: 1938. Pp. xxxiv, 463. $1.00.) This bibliography is the only volume of the *Report* of the American Historical Association for 1934: the proceedings for that year were printed in volume I of the *Report* for 1935. The present edition of *Writings* contains 4127 entries, which cover books and articles on every phase of United States and Canadian history published during 1934, with some memoranda on other portions of America. There are 29 titles in the Catholic part of the section devoted to Religious History, with many other scattered references to related subjects, religious orders, and individuals. Miss Griffin, under whose able direction this work has been solely compiled for many years, has found it necessary, because of her work in the Library of Congress, to employ additional assistance. She generously shares the title-page with these co-workers. The same completeness and care which characterize the series as a whole are again evident, and there is a detailed index to facilitate the use of the book.

The Association's committee on this project has given serious consideration to the problem of bringing this work closer to date. The volume for 1933 (containing 4792 entries) will no doubt have been distributed before the appearance of this review. The copy of the volume for 1936 has been in the printer's hands since May 1. The *Writings* for 1937 and 1938 will

appear in a single volume, the compilation of which, it is expected, will be finished in January, 1940. Also the committee feels that the cumulative index now in preparation should be expanded to include 35 volumes rather than 25 as at first proposed. But the success of these plans will depend upon the continued support from the friends who have so long responded to Dr. Jameson's appeal and to the more recent requests of the present committee. This indispensable bibliography will continue only so long as it receives this support; the Association is financially unable to contribute more than about one-fourth of the cost of compilation. It is gratifying to be able to state that the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION has for many years been doing its share in placing the publication of this most important and useful series on a firm financial basis. (LEO F. STOCK)

The Youth Movement, Report of the Twentieth Annual Meeting, Franciscan Educational Conference, Rensselear, New York, June 21-23, 1938. (Washington: Franciscan Educational Conference. 1938. Pp. iv, 212.) Catholic youth leaders will appreciate this excellent series of papers and discussions. The Report is timely and comprehensive, providing an interesting analysis of the so-called youth problem and youth movements. The introductory papers summarize the youth situation from a world-wide and from the American point of view. There is conclusive evidence that the world is not only youth conscious, but that youth itself is being exploited by governments, political parties, and youth organizations. It is likewise evident that youth is the target of individuals and groups avowedly atheistic and definitely anti-social.

The Report assures us that the answer is to be found in the perfection of the means the Church proposes, and the orderly development of the series of movements the Church has set in motion in order to safeguard youth's interests. The basis of coöperation with approved non-sectarian agencies is clearly indicated. It is refreshing to note the tactful method used by the authors of the various papers to disillusion those who labor under the impression that there is a genuine youth movement here in America. Exaggerated claims have been made along these lines. Without advocating regimentation or domination of youth groups by adults, the Report clearly indicates the need of control, direction, and guidance.

A courageous attempt was made to conduct a statistical survey of the youth field. This first attempt is a step forward, but it is quite evident that accurate statistics are not available.

A symposium on youth activity is developed under three general headings: Spiritual and Religious, Educational and Cultural, and Recreational. The symposium should prove helpful to those who are developing their youth activity under these general classifications. In discussing these activities the authors state that they must be well ordered, functional, adaptable, and interesting. The Report has other features, namely the interpretations of the philosophy of play and recreation; an analysis of the modern methods and techniques utilized in the reclamation of the juvenile delinquent; and a forceful reminder of the many dangers confronting youth today.

In no sense may the Report be said to represent a glorification of a youth movement developed under Franciscan auspices. On the contrary, it is a definite effort on the part of Franciscan leadership to render service to a common cause. Diocesan Youth Directors will find this Report extremely helpful and youth leaders generally may use it effectively in the development of similar conferences. (VINCENT MOONEY)

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PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

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History in Secondary Schools—Why Not Teach it? Richard J. Purcell (*Social Studies*, March).
Leadership versus Modern Educational Trends. Sister Joseph Marie (*Ibid.*, April).
Histoire et légende: un parallèle. Marius Barbeau (*Canada français*, May).
Pope Pius XI. Robert Sencourt (*Atlantic Monthly*, May).
Pie XI et la Belgique. Mgr. Edouard Devoghel (*Revue générale*, May).
Pie XI, l'Homme et le Pontife. Comte Sforza (*Grande Revue*, February).
Papst Pius XI: Ein Pontifikat von säkularer Bedeutung. Joseph Massarette (*Theologische-praktische Quartalschrift*, 1939, 2).
The Pontificate of Pope Pius XI. Lawrence K. Patterson (*Thought*, June).
Pius XI and Pius XII. Don L. Sturzo (*Contemporary Review*, April).
Lo spirito e l'attività scientifica de Pio XI. Pietro Scotti (*Convivium*, March-April).
Pio XI: Ricordandone gli scritti storici. Niccolò Rodolico (*Archivio storico italiano*, 1938, (Disp. IV).
L'Oeuvre internationale de Pie XI. Auguste Viatte (*Canada français*, May).
The Historicity of Jesus. P. L. Couchoud (*Hibbert Journal*, January). A reply to Alfred Loisy.
Foreign Influences on Ancient Israel. Joseph I. Schade (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).
The Beginning of Early Christian Architecture. Richard Krautheimer (*Review of Religion*, January).
Virgil and Christianity. J. W. Naughton (*Thought*, June).
La première communauté chrétienne à Jérusalem. L. Cerfaux (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, January).
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The School of Andrew of St. Victor. B. Smalley (*Ibid.*).
Les sacrements et le rôle de l'Esprit-Saint d'après Isidore de Séville. J. Havet (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, January).
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Le règlement ecclésiastique de Berne [A ninth century version of an eighth century collection of rules for the community life of canons]. A. Wilmart (*Revue Bénédictine*, January-March).
Le poème apologétique de Pierre le Vénérable et les poèmes connexes. A. Wilmart (*Ibid.*).
Les sarcophages chrétiens antiques, Ch. Martin, S.J. (*Nouvelle revue théologique*, April).

Barlaam and Ioasaph [The arguments in favor of Euthymius' authorship of the Greek version based on a Gregorian source]. Robert Lee Wolff (*Harvard Theological Review*, April).
Arte indigena e influenze straniere. G. Cattaui de Menasce (*Pensiero missionario*, March 31).
Das Manichäische Bema Fest. C.R.C. Allberry (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*, 37: 1938).
Kaiser Justinian I. und die Anastasiskirche in Jerusalem. W. Schubart (*Ibid.*).
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To Xavier's Tomb [A visit to Goa]. Richard A. Welfele (*Catholic World*, June).
La résurrection de la Compagnie de Jésus (1773-1814). Paul Dudon (*Revue des questions historiques*, April).
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Un gallican intransigeant: J. P. Saurine, ancien évêque constitutionnel des Landes, premier évêque concordataire de Strasbourg. G. Fritz (*Revue des sciences religieuses,* April).
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La personalità del Guicciardini nei "Ricordi." Luigi Malagoli (*Rinascita,* April).
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L'idée d'état sous les Carolingiens. Louis Halphen (*Revue historique,* Jan.).
Richelieu et le front de mer de Provence. H. Methivier (*Ibid.*).
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England's Missionary Effort, 1839-1939. George Telford (*Month*, June).

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The German Lutheran Aid Society of 1790. John G. Frank and John Pomfret (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January).

Church Archives in the United States. William Warren Sweet (*Church History*, March).

Pacifism and the State in Colonial Pennsylvania. Guy Franklin Hershberger (*Ibid.*).

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L'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, sous Bigot et Murray [1748-1766]. Arthur Maheux (*Canada français*, April).

Some Non-Catholic Contributions to the Study of the Canadian and American Missions. Thomas F. O'Connor (*Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report: 1937-1938*).

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